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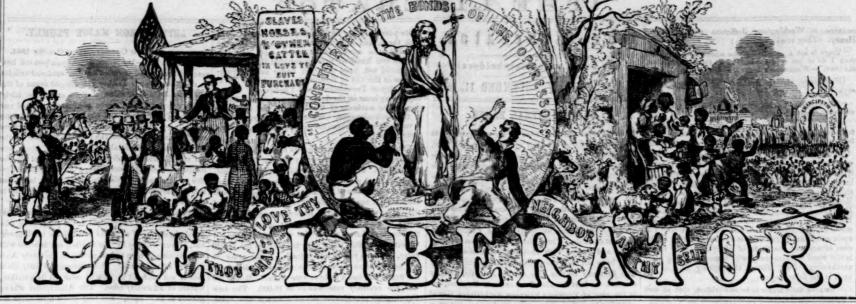
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING.

21 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. BOBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

F TERMS -- Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for TEM CLLARS, if payment is made in advance. Mall remittances are to be made, and all letters rising to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be greeted, (POST PAID,) to the General Agent.

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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penn-Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are utherised to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR. The following gentlemen constitute the Financial tice, bu are not responsible for any debts of the Commission, or Wenderle Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Ed. HID JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.



"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." . "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President or THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INVESPERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and nust canny it on, acconding to the Laws or wan ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armics have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXIV. NO. 46.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1762.

Selections.

ADDRESS OF MAJOR GENERAL NATHANIEL P. BANKS,

OF THE NEGRO POPULATION AS CON-NECTED WITH THE REORGANIZATION OF GOVERN-MENT IN REBEL STATES.

believed before the Boston Young Men's Christian Asso. ciation, in Tremont Temple, Oct. 31.

Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen: My exertence has led me to appreciate highly the accessful labors of the Young Men's Christian Assembler of this and of other parts of our country; and I come here especially to-night to make acknowledgments for those with whom I have been associated any expressions in the field. For the great here of the control of the con ared, my comrades in the field, for the great benefits hat have been conferred by them upon us, upon the service, and upon the holy cause of our country. h was said by one of the greatest of the Marshals of France, that the reward of the soldier was in the of rance, that the performance of his duty; and except from outside influences and powers, little more than this comes to profession is exclusively in arms. Whatever he gains—of honor, of fortune, or of tower—is usually from other and very different sorces; but it is a high happiness, impossible fully be measured, to know in the hour of trial and of pell, and perhaps of death, that his services are remembered at home. Much more, even, than that which is conferred, either in luxury or in any other form of service which is rendered to him—much more important and dear is the knowledge that the people for whom he labors, and for whom he assumes ion of peril, remember him, the cause in which he is engaged, and the services which he is to

The Young Men's Christian Association and Sanitry Commission, their varied, their energetic and their successful labors, mark the brightest pages of heir successful labors, mark the orightest pages of the history of our country, and have contributed materially to solace those who are engaged in the defence of our flag, and to the success of the cause of the nation. For myself, Mr. President, for those with whom I have been associated, I tender you my acknowledgments and their acknowledgments for that which you have done for the

meats for that which you have done for us.

Much oppressed with labors and anxieties of varied character, it is impossible for me to present gyself before an audience of this kind, with the expectation that in any possible degree 1 can answer the call which is made upon me, and I do not now come with a hope even that I shall instruct, gratify gramme, but will state as briefly and as plainly as

or same, but will state as orieny and as planny as lean some considerations upon one, at least, of the inputant topics involved in the great struggle through which our country is passing, and which must be considered and settled before any permatent peace can be established.

One of the most active and influential of the di-

pomatic agents of this country abroad stated to me sme years since, that Humboldt, who, always deep-interested in our affairs, followed our career to the end of his own, predicted the overthrow of the is subority and the purity of its principles at the same time. It may be there is much truth in the regestion; and at the time, looking at our tendence then, it seemed as if this consideration were immediately pregnant and important. But the printiple embodied in this remark is always important Government or the institutions of government can-not be improvised; they grow. They grow slowly in a wise government surely—scarcely ever rapid-ty when they grow safely. It is as impossible for an amore a President to improvise a government resallora in its character and permanent in its na-ture here, as it would be for an army to create a meedile. It is an institution or a power of slow gowth, and wherever it is permanent and safe, it is supported by institutions having no immediate refer-ence to government itself or its power, but without rich government or its power cannot long be main-nined. Those principles to which Humboldt refer-Among a fine principles to which Humboldt reference which institutions of education and religion, are indispensable to any government, but they admit of consideration more in detail. One of the elements involved in the two which I have limited is that of industry. The industry of a nation must be the basis of its government, and characterize its nature and its recipielles as well as its atterize its nature and its principles as well as its permanency or duration. It is this thought that permanency or duration. It is this thought that lade ne, in the remarks that I propose to make to rue ne, in the remarks that I propose to make to rea. Before there can be any permanent settlement of the affairs of this country, there must be an arrangement of the industry of that portion now in americal upon some permanent, just and satisfactly lass. If the Union succeeds in maintaining in authority, that industry will be organized upon the pinciple of absolute and permanent freedom. (Applane.) If the Confederacy succeeds in its propose, that interest will be organized as now uphapinciple of absolute any personal services in its laplane.) If the Confederacy succeeds in its laplanes, that interest will be organized as now upon the principle of slarery. It may perhaps be said that before any permanent success even in arms can be obtained, some idea of the principle upon which is institutions of this country are to be moulded must be determined. For in all successful contest there is, if not an express, at least a contest there is, if not an express, at least a contest in the country is to be obtained, and it is when the laplaness which is to be obtained, and it is when at purpose is obtained, or when that purpose is enceded, that the cause is established, or that the Intender of the enemy or the opponent is made.

In the State of Louisiana, on the 1st of January

in the State of Louisiana, on the 1st of January, 1831, there were perhaps one hundred and fifty thoused blacks who had been, up to that time at least, led in slavery. The slave population of Louisiana a 1850 was 350,000. I doubt very much if, at the period to which I refer, the number of negroes in last State would be more than 150,000 or 175,000. De proclamation of the President declared emangular from slavery in most of the slave States capt the parishes of Louisiana, in which this portion of the population, or the greater part of this of the population, or the greater part of this that population, therefore, even under the procla bot de facto. But they were not slaves de fac mus facto. But they were not slaves de facto. To man, by the very condition of the country at a moment, was free from the control of his massimamuch as the law forbade the army or the factor of the army or navy, to return man to slavery, which very few were prepared theired to do even. It is therefore, perfectly desired to do even. It is, therefore, per received to do even. It is, therefore, perfectly re that, whether or not, as the planters claimed is sixes at that time were slaves de jure, the necessary that the seven person connected with the government perfectly well understood, there was no power to reduce them to the modition of servitude. They clustered into the reat centres of the army; they came from all the

time of which I speak, I could very well comprehend its appalling nature. These were to be supported by the government. They had no means of support of their own. They had no means of support of their own. They had to be protected by distribution rather than by concentration; and as the first step, both to relieve the government, to protect the army from connection with such masses of people, to maintain the public health, to preserve the lives of the colored people themselves, it was determined to give old, are gratifying and surprising; and it leaves no possible doubt, whatever that the negro, population.

ner that he could provide for himself and for them in the future. The principle upon which this was done was determined by the negroes themselves. Fifteen or twenty of the most intelligent, the best educated young colored men of Louisiana, who were themselves free, and knew well the character of the colored population, were sent out into different parishes. They were authorized to go where they pleased, to speak with whom they pleased. At their request they were permitted to carry arms, to defend themselves, and they visited the negro population in the different parishes in the early part of the year 1863. ner that he could provide for himself and for them in they were permitted to carry arms, to defend themselves, and they visited the negro population in the different parishes in the early part of the year 1863, and they brought to the Government the terms of labor which the negroes desired. They were, first, that their families should not be separated; second, that they should not be separated; second, that they should not be flogged; third, that their children should be educated; and fourth, that they should not be compelled to labor where they did not like to, where they had hitherto been abused. All these privileges were granted to them. The planters, both the old population and the new, considered the subject for themselves, not in the same way, not by agents sent among them, but by public meetings. by agents sent among them, but by public meetings.

And in order to avoid what was a difficulty among them—that is, to avoid the necessity of any one man leading off in favor of a policy which recognized the freedom of the negro, and required the payment of wages and the performance of other conditions required by the government—they held a meeting at which it was declared, by a unanimous vote, that they would accept the proposition of the govern-ment, and thus avoided the responsibility on the part of any of them of being the first to accede to terms

of any of them of being the first to accede to terms so contrary to their expectation.

The result of this system of labor proves conclusively in my mind—I am as sure of it as I am of any fact within my experience or my power of investigation—that the institution of slavery in the Southern States is totally unnecessary for the protection of any interest whatever (applause)—that there is no use for slavery of any color or kind of character; and so far as the interest of the negro himself is concerned, or the agriculturists, or all the people of the South, or of the Government itself, the return of servitude is not only incompatible with the public gern States is totally unnecessary for the protection of any interest whatever (applause)—that there is no use for slavery of any color or kind of character; and so far as the interest of the negro himself is concerned, or the agriculturists, or all the people of the South, or of the Government itself, the return of servitude is not only incompatible with the public interest, but impossible under any circumstances whatever. (Loud applause.) This is substantially all that can be said of the plan of employment of the negroes in that State to which I refer. It is quite possible that, in this immediate and radical change from a condition of universal servitude to one of immediate and absolute freedom, there may have been many instances and occurrences unjustifiable; that many families, many individuals, many inter-

stance, that out of eight or nine millions of negroes that had been imported into European colonies up to 1774, in that year not more than one million and a to the productive industry as is given by England or baff existed; and in the six years previous to the period I have named, with one hundred and five or ten thousand slaves imported and sixty thousand slaves imported slaves imported and sixty thousand slaves imported and slaves births, in these six years, such was the decimation by disease and death, that not more than forty thousand settled, the system of values to be upon a solid and disease and death, that not more than forty thousand of them were left in the year I have named—attributed to the cruelties and horrors of the institution, to the separation of negroes from their homes, to the melancholy and despair that seized upon them with such great power, and kindred causes, carrying them off at such a ratio that it was said that if it was continued for two or three centuries, it would depopulate nearly the entire globe. It seemed to me introdible and impossible to suppose such a result as are in the parishes controlled by the government of are in the parishes controlled by the government of credible and impossible to suppose such a result as this, as stated by the opponents of the institution of slavery in the discussion of this question, but when I saw the character of the multitudes that were coming into the garrisons and posts in that State at the time of which I speak, I could very well comprehend twenty night schools established in these parishes, time of which I speak, I could very well comprehend twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the filter twenty night schools for adults; and ever

tain the public health, to preserve the lives of the colored people themselves, it was determined to give them employment. That employment was established at the outset in the month of January, upon the basis of absolute and perfect freedom of the negro in all respects and all considerations, to make him as independent and to prepare him for as perfect an independence as that enjoyed by any other class of people on this continent. Those who were engaged in the cultivation of plantations, both in the home population or those who accompanied the army, or who had undertaken this business since the rebellion commenced, were told that by the payment to the negroes of due wages, providing them with suitable rations, with clothing, with medical attendance, taking care of the whole of the population, leaving the laborer under the protection of the government itself in regard to his rights—that upon these conditions they might employ the negro population in that State. The negro understood or was instructed that he was at liberty to select his employer, and to go where he pleased, but that he was expected to labor for the support of himself and his family, and the was at liberty to select his employer, and to go where he pleased, but that he was expected to labor for the support of himself and his family, and the was at liberty to select his employer, and to go where he pleased, but that he was expected to labor for the support of himself and his family, and to select his employer for any price whatever, that he will perfor how who were engaged in the cultivation of the soil because they had no alternative—the negro because he had no other desire. He saw that he had his freedom, the choice of employment, the the end of his own, predicted the overthrow of the had no alternative—the nenatural name as I indicate.) that when our jurisdiction of the soil because he had no other desire. He saw that he had no other desire. He saw that he had no other desire. He saw that he had his freedom, the choice of employment, the choice of work. rations for himself and family, clothing such as the Government should deem suitable for him, education for his children and wages that would be impossible for a Republican Government to extend its power over them, and maintain the infirm and sick; they must educate the young; and for this great burden of supporting the entire negro population of that part of the State, there must be a deduction from the wages of those ablebodied, and able to do a full day's work or a full year's work. Thus the Government, or some other power, must fix the price of wages in addition to the support of each individual laborer, in order that the surplus may be given to maintain the infirm, the sick, the old, the poor and the young. It cannot be done between the employer and employed, because neither of them is willing to sacrifice his own indineither of them is withing to sacrince his own inde-vidual interests for these general purposes. The employers will not undertake to support three hun-dred or three hundred and fifty souls upon two or three plantations when they can get labor only from fifty or sixty or a hundred of them; and the laborer

change from a condition of universal servitude to one of immediate and absolute freedom, there may have been many instances and occurrences unjustifiable; that many families, many individuals, many interests on the side of the laborer, and on the side of the employers, too, have suffered, which, in a general view of the subject, is unfortunate. It is almost impossible to find men in a country like ours, where opinion is free, and especially upon a subject where so much diversity of opinion exists, where so many interests conflict and clash with each other—it is almostimpossible to find agents to carry out successfully and effectually any distinguishing idea of the character I have suggested. But I believe this to be true—that it has been as just in its operation to the employed and profitable to the employer as any system could be, under the circumstances, in a State or with a population like that; and whatever complaint may have been made or may be made with regard to individuals, or the sufferings by individuals, that you can parallel any of those wrongs or complaints of the seamstresses, of people engaged upon the families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their families were not to be separated. But if the settlement of the terms and conditions of labor, their fa

benefit and in their own way, an acre to every able-bedied man, and generally Saturday is given to them for the cultivation of this land. I had a letter from an old planter, not a new planter, a few days before I arrived in Boston, in which he said that of

whether enslaved before the war, as a freeman entitled to all the rights and all the protection of a white man. He is entitled to sue and be sued; he can give his testimony in any of the courts; and any parent having a child, in the possession of anybody, may go into court and claim the possession of the child, whether the parents were enslaved or not, whether the child was in the possession of former owners or not, by showing as you show in the State of Massachusetts, that the parents are able to take care of that child, and are able to bring it up properly and carefully. Thus not only is the laborer compensated for what he does, but he is secured by the authority of the government, or by an appeal to the officers of the government, or by an appeal to the officers of the government, or by an appeal to the conficers of the government, or by an appeal to the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is a first the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is the secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government is a secured by the authority of the government i

surrounding States, without employment, without means of support of any character clothing, without means of support of any character whatever, and concentrated in all cases near to the posts or garrisons of the army. Invariably and inseparably from this condition came great suffering, population in the Southern States. I do not believe the history of West India Emancipation, and in the history of West India Emancipation, and in the discussion of the institution of slavery in the European islands in this hemisphere, of the appaling and the reconstruction of the States. I am assured by my own observation—I am assured to substate, and the there is required to substate, and the theory is the item of valves, by of laboring men in Louisiana have been as remu- is done, or whenever a commencement is made so nerative as those of Massachusetts or any other part that we can see that the end is possible, we can as-

of laboring men in Louisiana have been as reminerative as those of Massachusetts or any other part of this country, so far as I am able to judge. The rations which were furnished to the plantation hands by the government, or according to general orders of the government, cost even at the rate of purchase by the government itself twenty-one cents a day, at the wholesale prices, with all the advantages that the government can command, and without considering at all the profits of traders or the cost of transportation. Including these items, the cost of transportation. Including these items, the cost of the daily ration in Louisiana, according to the plantations orders, is from forty to fifty cents. Two suits of clothes a year are required, cost not less than \$50, education for his children, without which the laborer refuses to work, medical attendance for the sick and support of those connected with him and his family, who are helpless—all these things are apportioned to him by the government, through the contributions of his employer. And in addition to this, every man and person employed are entitled to a portion of land and time to work it for their own benefit and in their own way, an acre to every able-bodied man, and generally Saturday is given to given the red with the manual person employed are entitled to a portion of land and time to work it for their own benefit and in their own way, an acre to every able-bodied man, and generally Saturday is given to contributions of the series of the contributions of his employer. And in addition to this, every man and person employed are entitled to a portion of land and time to work it for their own benefit and in their own way, an acre to every able-bodied man, and generally Saturday is given to contributions.

from an old planter, not a new planter, a few days before I arrived in Boston, in which he said that of some three hundred and twenty-five hands upon two plantations which he had cultivated, he had already paid from the produce of the land given to the negroes themselves two thousand dollars, and they had products for sale which would amount to fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars more.

There were many men upon the plantation who had crops of three hundred dollars' value, and the poorest and feeblest woman engaged in laboring upon the plantation earned from fifty to sixty and seventy-five dollars a year. Of the 325 souls in the employ of this planter, between sixty and seventy-were children who were in school. I doubt yery much if you can find a laboring family in the State of Massachusetts, of ordinary character, that receives in a year rations for the whole of its members, whether sick or well, education for its children, protection in all the rights of the individual or of the family, from the government itself, and wages at from six to ten dollars for each person actually employed in labor. I doubt if you can find any laboring family in the State of Massachusetts that is better remunerated for the labor it performs than that. But in addition to this, they get their freedom. (Applause.)

There is not a Court in the State of Louisiana that does not recognize a negro, whether free or whether enslaved before the war, as a freeman entitled to all the rights and all the protection of a white man. He is entitled to sue and be sued; he

ment itself in all rights, whether it be by appeal to the officers of the government, or by an appeal to the courts in the State itself. I do not see how it is possible to make a sober objection as to who shall fix the wages of the laboring population, where the first question is whether agricultural industry can be carried on or not, and in the second place to give to the laboring population itself all the rights which are enjoyed by freemen in any part of the American Union.

It is said that this system of labor is for the benefit of the planter, and not of the negro. What does the planter gain? By his very act he surrenders his property in his slaves. His property is in slaves, it is not in land. In the Southern States, the possession of land, without slaves, has been accounted of no value. It is only by enumerating the number of his hands that you can estimate the extent of land that a man possesses, because it is the possession of land, without elaves, has been accounted of no value. It is only by enumerating the number of his hands that you can estimate the extent of land that a man possesse, because it is through cultivation alone that it has value. He surrenders all this. He pays his negroes wages, where formerly they worked without wages. He is subject to the direction of the government in everything appetrating to them. He has no right to say to one of them, except under their direction, or by permission of the government, and this, or do the other thing. He is subject entirely and absolutely independent of his will. He cannot flog him; he cannot sell him; he cannot separate the members of his family from each other; he cannot refuse to them healthy and sufficient rations or comfortable clothing; he cannot refuse to them healthy and sufficient rations or comfortable clothing; he cannot refuse to them healthy and sufficient rations or comfortable clothing; he cannot refuse to them healthy and sufficient rations or comfortable clothing; he cannot refuse to them anything that the laborer is entitled to or receives elsewhere. He surrenders, therefore, absolutely and entirely, his right of property in the slaves, which he claimed as property, which he laborer is entitled to or receives elsewhere. He surrenders, therefore, absolutely and entirely, his right of property in the slaves, which he claimed as property, which he laborer is entitled to or receives elsewhere. He surrenders, therefore, absolutely and entirely, his right of property in the slaves, which he claimed as property, which he laborer is not fall to the surrenders and the course of the

that account (laughter); and wherever I have found an individual who was determined to be incessant-ly employed, unless it was a matter of some special, grand and immediate importance, I have generally concluded that he was a little unsound in mind or diseased in body. It is not to be expected that either the white or the black race will go about killing themselves for the sake of finding something to do; but I imagine that the special indolence of the black race, which the Southern people say exists in the South, is to be accounted for in a perfectists in the South, is to be accounted for in a perfectly natural way. The negro is an imitative being. He sees in the Southern States that the great people do nothing, and the greater they are, the less they do. (Laughter and applause.) That is his idea of perfect happiness and perfect grandeurnot to do anything at all! Well, it would be extraordinary if he did not, if he had his way, incline to that method of elevating himself. So long, therefore, as the leading people of the South live in idleness—the men doing nothing and the women doing nothing (they don't draw a bucket of water, they don't even dress themselves)—when the negro they don't even dress themselves)—when the negro gets the opportunity, if it is only for five or ten minutes, it is not surprising that he assumes that ex-alted way of living—doing nothing! (Laughter.) But when a new class of men go down into those States, and undertake the cultivation of the land, the transaction of business and the organization of government under a new system—when Northern habits of industry are transerred to the Southern nabits of industry are trainterred to the Southern climate, and men are up at five o'clock in the morn-ing, and are never ceasing in their labors—when they are seen to grow powerful and rich by the course they have taken, I am afraid the negro will imitate that example in the same way.

Now, from these views I say, without any hesita-

Now, from these views I say, without any hesitation, that there is nothing to be lamented in the condition of the negro in 1864, as compared with his condition on the first of January, 1863. Under whatever adverse circumstance he may be placed, he certainly is much better off at the present time, with the opportunity which he has for improvement and the satisfaction which he feels in his present condition, than he was then. The white people are a great deal more disturbed and distressed at the North about the condition of the negro than at the North about the condition of the negro than he himself. At the celebration of the passage of the Act of Emancipation, in June, I saw in the city of New Orleans 20,000 or 25,000 colored peo city of New Orleans 20,000 or 25,000 colored people, as well dressed, as well behaved, as orderly as any people that I ever saw in Boston, or New York, or any city of the States. (Applause.) I saw a city of 175,000 people absolutely surrendered to the celebration of the passage of the Act of Emancipation. They occupied the streets and the squares the whole day. From surrise in the morning to sunset in the evening, they were possessed of the city, and in the whole of that day not one disorderly act was done, not one uncivil word spoken, not a ly act was done, not one uncivil word spoken, not a white person, so far as I know, came into collision with them, and nothing was witnessed during the day but the most perfect order and sobriety. I heard one hundred persons say that that celebra-tion could not have occurred under such circumtion could not have occurred under such circumstances in the city of Boston, the city of New York, or the city of Providence; and I believe it. Every day, every hour in the day, you hear negro children singing the anthems of the Union in the streets or in their school-rooms. Wherever they are, the air is vocal with the music, the precious music, of their course heart. The school-rooms young hearts. The colored people make no com-plaint of their condition or of their wages. If they complain of individual wrong, they find their reme-dy as certainly and as immediately as any laboring man will find it in Massachusetts. I may certainly be assumed to know what is the condition of the laboring man here; and I do not hesitate to state to you what is his condition and that of his family in Louisiana. He makes no complaint about wages. What he asks and what he demands is, that his children shall be educated, that his family shall be held sacred, and his wife and children relieved from the hardship of field labor as soon as possible. That is what he demands, and nothing more than that.

This is not a new idea that is embodied in this or-This is not a new idea that is embodied in this organization of labor in that State. It has been tried for three-quarters of a century. Toussaint L'Ouverture tried the experiment himself, for his own countrymen, in the West India Islands, and there is nothing different in his system from that which we have adopted, except that his was infinitely more severe than ours. He required that the laborers should labor upon the plantations where they belonged, and that was a wise regulation. He required that they should not leave it without the consent of a magistrate or of his employer. He placed in command of the laboring population Dessalines and a relative of his own, who were men of an extremely tyrannical character, and went among the workshops and the laboring people with their canes, scattering their blows about upon whoever they chose. If a negro was charged with idleness, with insolence, with insurbordination, and found guilty, it is said that he was buried alive in the presence of his companions; and if the name of anization of labor in that State. It has been tried with insolence, with insurbordination, and found guilty, it is said that he was buried alive in the presence of his companions; and if the name of the offending individual was not known, some one of the company was hung, by the order of L'Ouverture, as an example to the rest. At any rate, the system established there was infinitely more oppressive and severe than anything that exists in the State to which I have referred. England has tried the same system. She has not been able to succeed on her plantations in any other way than under this general method which I have suggested. And France, which has perhaps given more study to this subject than any other nation or State on the globe, whose ablest men have been employed in its consideration for sixty or seventy years, as late as 1848 adopted exactly the same principles, though not so liberal to the laborer as those which I have described as existing in Louisiana. After a discussion of the question by men who perhaps understand the subject of emancipation, theoretically and practically, better than any other men, the French Government declared and decreed that the laborers in the French West India Islands should be held to service under such general principles as I have described: That is, that the employer should furnish food and clothing, medical attendance and care forthe living, and burial for the dead, as a condition of the children is provided for by the French Govern. the employment of the laborer. The education of the children is provided for by the French Government; but instead of being furnished to the negroes free of charge, it is paid for, I believe, by a tax upon them or upon their labor.

(Concluded on fourth page.)

n from their homes; to hobbling from the forced to give way hiding in your rail-that freemen cannot ething to which we lependence. Some uction with slavery who would measure! Would you see its cheek, grow up a onor, unless he light a country? Would c land given over to tic but for its bald

ER 4.

has given the use kapearean reading evening this week. If Springfield, this ur Legislature dis-tigenius and talent, mmended by those We copy below dings from the pen

on elocutionist, last Springfield, Massacoducing his papil, ends in that city, rofessional and pecessful. This is the first seemed by Doctor
literation in the weak of the first seemed by Doctor
literations, in the weak of the We quote: "Miss readings" were her herse she exhibited for genius she unfurther criticism of rried too much her lings of light verse, lings of light verse, lings of light verse, and airs into the grand airs into the

ading at Rutland, ned herself finely, said of her prepos-ture and rare gifts." angers in town will her entertainments wiedge, and their it in a daughter of conan.

ch, professes to be

n to the army, and dence that they are with the Northern

y. Hear the wolf

nnocence from the his victim's blood:

the right to make a v fit."

ontinues, " cries out ers such as they pro-

MACON.

HESTER.

move a single sym-out the wide, wide annot hear a slave-out feeling an intolout feeling an intoloure; you want to be seris yourselves! with a dusky skin, n offspring, to seri-should we pity you who-blossom " on his lordly pretensions ry easily see how ur "fair daughters y of the Yankees," n giving over other y of the lankees, in giving over other tentimes just as fair and the overseer! quence in behalf of world despises your cords of human his-ing rebellion be less and than it is to-day.

ing a negro hawked aneuil Hall Square, Hot mutten pies!' bite one, but found ie. 'What do you and blue swindler,' hivering pie man. to me hot dis morn-'em dis mornin' n minutes to free

DEMOCRACY.

ic party. They reey meanly put up e deadly market of shabby old party ocratic principles being understoomyour vote for them, fingers, paralyzing heart, and turning lers why they call tell you blandly that iginal article—that is just as good nerhaps—and that perhaps and the

ATFORM. great vigor.

ve been fairly proand should be tenaral who will be all

igorous profor a vigorous pro-

prove of the course tiously adopted, we ots all gentlemen matters pleasant. we mean that we g, and this thing, good old times, the d times—any times

IcClellan, who will eace and no taxes, niversal prosperity, ny price, and peace prosecution of the

URST'S Y SOHOOL DIES, NEWBURG, N. Y. PROCO ON Wednesday Aug. 26-28 "There is not a man living who wishes more sincer than I do to see a plan adopted for the ABOLITION SLAVERY."—Washington's Letter to Robert Morris.

"The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest."

"It would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow-beings was emancipated. I shall honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to ABOLISH SLAVERY."—Patrick Heary.

apex or crown of the arch is a representation of the coat of arms of the State of Maryland, over which

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men

ranked among the most wise and benevolent law

regenerated South. Hail! "Liberty and Un

On one plinth are figures 1776, and on the other

The coat of arms of Maryland, that rests on the arch-crown, is flanked right and left by angels blow-

ing the trump of fame. On either side of the

grand arch are panels, four in number, each being ten feet six inches by five feet nine inches. The

blood, which may be seen trickling from his arm. The contraband is looking towards beaven. The

ed in Major General Butler's congratulatory order. The contest took place at New Market Heights

wife and the children of the slave grouped together.

thought of separation is trickling down her cheek.

"God fixed it certain that whatever day
Makes man a slave takes half his worth away."

—Pope.

"Thousands of men, women and children sold annually nder Maryland's old Constitution to the far South."

We now turn our attention to the picture on the

ning the rising generation of the "proscribed school. The scene is laid in St. Mary's

Md. A fine, fat-looking specimen of d woman points to the building dedicated to

e way to the place thus pointed out This suggestive picture cannot help

ne of education. On the top of this

right lower corner. Here we observe a school-house in the distance, with its neat cupola and bell

purposes of popular education. A little boy and

girl are on the way to the place thus pointed ouby the matron. This suggestive picture cannot help receiving popular favor of all intelligent classes whe know the value of education. On the top of this

"Emancipation proclaimed January 1, 1863, by

Practically enforced by glorious GRANT, Indomitable SHERMAN,

Indomitable SHERIDAN,
Irresistible SHERIDAN, and
Conquering FARRAGUT.
Let us sustain them by our ballots, and make
Emancipation a Fact Fixed Forever."

following inscription: "12,000 colored at the front, fighting for the Union."

these portraits are the following words:

R. Knight, and Wm. E. Smith.

es, among others :-

There are no negro traitors.

ored soldier shot down, but still ho

At the lower part of the panel or painting is the

The lower panel, which forms, it may be said, the ase of the entire picture, is 18 feet 6 inches in ength by 6 feet wide. It contains on one end a

good likeness of President Lincoln, and on the other

an excellent representation of the next Vice President, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. Between

"Tis Education forms the common mind."

The space between the front of the house and the

oseph Beale, J. D. Wilson, E. B. Censell, D.

This transparency was exhibited

In addition to the above, a fine painting of a col-

ored soldier shot down, but still holding the flag up. Another soldier is about to take the emblem of na-

at the opposite side of the way. There were many flags also exhibited, containing the following mot-

"200,000 men of color are now fighting for their country in the army and navy."—Abraham Lincoln.

transparency is appropriated to the portraits of the following named men of progress, civil, military, and naval: Generals Grant, Sheridan, Sherman,

At the bottom is the following motto:

this picture. On the top :

are too young to appreciate the enor-ffair. The following mottoes are on

position, being faint from exhaustion and

Henry Winter Davis,
H. L. Bond,
R. Stockett Matthews,
Archibald Sterling,
E. M. Stanton,
Gen. Robert C. Schenck,
Col. Wm. D. Birney,
Col. S. M. Bowman,
R. B. Forten, (colored.)

R. B. Forten, (colored,) W. E. Straughn,

A. J. Cresswell, H. H. Goldsborough, Gov. A. W. Bradford.

now and forever, one and inseparable.

Com. Josh. Barney,

awakening. Just aboarch is the following:

ly finished, being a representation of stone work, 13 in number, supported by Corinthian columns. Each stone represents a virtue, enumerated as follows: "We the people of the State of Maryland, grateful to Almighty God for our civil and religious liberty, and taking into our serious consideration the best means of establishing a good Constitution in this State for the sure foundation and more permanent security thereof, declare:

Article 1. That we hold it to be self-evident, that all men are created equally free, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights among which are life, liberty, the enjoyment of the proceeds of their own labor, and the pursuit of happi Article 2. That hereafter, in this State, there shall

neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except punishment of crime, whereof the party shall we been duly convicted: and all persons held to twice or labor as slaves are hereby declared free. have been duly convicted: and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free. Any person who shall, after this Constitution shall have gone into effect, detain in slavery any person cuancipated by the provisions of this Constitution shall, on conviction, be fined not less than five hun dred dollars, nor more than five thousand dollars, or be imprisoned not more than five years; and any of the judges of this State shall discharge, on habeas cor pus, any person so detained in slavery."

Thank God, hereafter Maryland is to keep step to the music of universal freedom! Delaware must soon follow her example, and Missouri cannot, after her sad experiences of slave-rule, much longer delay her regeneration. Kentucky must follomanacles which the rebels designed to mal must follow. med to make strong manacies which the rebels designed to make strong-er and rivet closer are being rapidly broken. And so the wrath of man praises God who counter-works the evil designs of the wicked.—N. Y. Christian

#### FREE MARYLAND.

There were great rejoicings on Saturday in Bal-timore, on the occasion of the publication of Gov. Bradford's proclamation announcing the adoption of the new Free State Constitution. The city was gaily decorated with flags, on many of which could read the words " Free Maryland." The event is to be celebrated to-day in Philadelphia by the ring-ing of bells, salutes and illuminations. The Governor's proclamation concludes as follows :-

On each column, in scroll-work, we observe the names of the following illustrious men: C. Carroll of Carrolton, "And whereas, the results of said elections hav been duly certified to me by the proper judges of said several elections, and upon accurately counting Sam. Chase, Gen. Wm. Smallwood, Col. J. Edgar Howard, said several elections, and upon accurately counting and casting up the votes so returned to me for and against said constitution, including the soldiers' vote aforesaid, it doth appear that there were 30,174 bal-lots for the constitution, and 29,799 ballots against the constitution; and that there were 61 blank bal-Matt. Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, William Pinkney, lots reported as given against the constitution, but not counted, the persons offering them refusing to take the oath required by said constitution; and there being, therefore, of the aggregate vote so cast a majority in favor of the adoption of said constitu-Ben. Bannaker, (colored,) R. Goodloe Harper, Luther Martin 1864. Both plinths contain, beneath the figures, the word " Faith."

Now, therefore, I, Augustus W. Bradford, Gov ernor of the State of Maryland, in pursuance of the authority so vested in me by said act of Assembly and constitution aforesaid, do by this my proclama-tion declare and make known, that the said constition declare and make known, that the said consti-tution and form of government so framed and adopted by the Convention aforesaid has been adopted by a majority of the voters of the State, and that, in pursuance of the provision therein contained, the same will go into effect as the proper constitution and form of government of the State, superseding the one now existing, on the first day of November. Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, on the 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord

A. W. BRADFORD."

By the Governor: W. B. Hall, Sec'y of State.

### EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.

CELEBRATION AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE RECRUIT ING OF UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS.

The abolition of human slavery in the State of Maryland becoming a fixed fact vesterday, by the act of the Governor, seconding the efforts of the people of that section of the Union, the event was celebrated in Philadelphia yesterday in a variety of ways. The colored population had their own time in their respective localities in our city. Lombard and South streets, where many of the "proscribed race" live, were gay, with flags flying from all the windows of many dwellings. Salutes of thirty-five guns each were fired in different parts of Philadelphia. Six companies of the colored regiment at delphia. Six companies of the colored re Camp Wm. Penn made a parade, and the

ly appearance was the subject of much admiration.

The event of the day took place last evening—or rather, the festivity culminated in a grand demonstration at the headquarters of the Supervisory Committee for Colored Troops, on Chestnut street above Twelfth. The building, with its immense transparency when fully illuminated, gave the en tire structure a magical appearance—gay, attractive and eminently patriotic. In the midst of the glar of red fire, reflecting upon ten thousand upturn-faces, the waving of flags and other ensigns patriotism, the musical notes of the band, a meeting was improvised by Mr. Thomas Webster. An adthough suffering from the effects of a blow that b received from a sneaking Copperhead assassin of Monday night. He was loudly cheered, and h Monday night. He was loudly cheered, and he thanked his God, as a Marylander, that the bright

sun of liberty now illumines his native State.

Mr. Coleman was followed by Mr. Trimble, of
Tennessee, Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, Captain N. H. Edgerton, of Chester county, recently promoted the indomitable General Butler for gallant condu The Captain was wounded in a recent battle. He was followed by Wm. H. Maurice, who recited the poetry, "No Slave Beneath the Starry Flag." Major Dehring and other gentlemen made patrio eeches, and the greatest enthusiasm prevail

THE TRANSPARENCY AND ILLUMINATION. The transparency, taken as a whole, is the larg est and one of the most imposing ever displayed to public view; it certainly is very appropriate to the age in which we live. It attracted the attention of thousands of morely vertex. thousands of people yesterday; and last evening, being brilliantly illuminated for the first time, ense mass of citizens congregated in front thereof fuction of the genius entleman who has do It may be said to be the prod Thomas Webster, a gentleman wh in the supervision of the recruiting of the United States colored troops The transparency consists of a number of pictures, graphically portrayed by the skill of members of the Artists' Sketch Club of Philadelphia. We commence our description of the scene at the top. On the centre is a cupola surmounted by a flagstaff about fifty feet long, from which the of our nation is unfurled. In the gentle gentle westerly breeze of last evening, it displayed its glorious star and stripes to admiring thousands. In the cupola i ell, with the motto the same as on old In dependence bell, that was rung when young America struck for freedom from British usurpa-tion and tyranny: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants there

and naval: Generals Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, Butler, Phelps: Admirals Farragut, Porter, Dupont; Captain Winslow, Hon. E. M. Stanton, Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, and Hon. John Hickman. The transparency was illuminated with 154 gas jets, the entire expense being raised by voluntary contributions. The artists engaged in thus transferring to canvass the design of Mr. Webster are Messrs. Geo. F. Bensell, Joseph Beale, J. D. Wilson, E. B. Cansell. Beneath the bell, and extending across the top o the transparency, is the following, in large letters, constructed of gas-jets:

### GOD SAVE THE REPUBLIC!

This motto is flanked on the right and left with Immediately beneath the motto is a large parame, 24 feet 7 in. by 8 feet, reaching across the entire front of the building. This represents the storming Port Hudson, a rebel stronghold taken by the black two lights, each representing the lamp of life.

Immediately beneath the motto is a large picture, soldiers, and which success contributed greatly to the opening of the "Father of Waters," the Mis the opening of the sissippi, by which rebeldom was split in two. The picture is very graphic and artistic. The motto, from a poem of Mr. George Boker, is on the top: Never in field or tent scorn a black regiment.

Maryland obeys the divine injunction: "To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke."—Issiah 58: 6. Immediately beneath the storming scene of Port Hudson are three panels, each being two feet by eight feet two inches, containing choice maxims or "Sie Semper Tyrannis."
-Philadelphia Press.

## ITHE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

The Tiberator.

Of Slavery, Jefferson, the father of Democracy, BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1864.

### MAJOR GENERAL BANKS.

Almost from the first hour of his appointment the Department of the Gulf up to the present time In the centre of the scene is a large arch, 13 feet wide and 52 feet high. The arch is very elaborate-Gen. Banks has been mercilessly criticised and o demned in certain quarters, especially upon the Anti-Slavery platform,—as alike incompetent for the situation, disregardful of the rights and interests of in number, supported by Corinthian columns.

stone represents a virtue, enumerated as follows:
Religion, Liberty, Education, Charity, Fraternity,
Frugality, Temperance, Truth, Courage, Justice,
Love, Labor, Honesty. We may say that the Keystone of the Arch is labelled Justice. Upon the the colored laboring population, and disposed t "toady" to wealthy and aristocratic secessionist wearing the mask of loyalty in that portion of Loui siana over which the authority of the Federal Gov ernment extends. These charges have been repeated again and again, with rhetorical vehemence, unt is the word "Resurgens," which means arising after awakening. Just above the spring line of the they have not only been accepted as unquestion true by many on this side of the Atlantic, but b some of the best friends of our cause in England, (as in the case of Professor Newman, for instance,)-and great has been the odium attempted to be cast upo President Lincoln for not sending Gen. Banks Coventry." We confess that our own mind was some A well-painted eagle, holding in its talons the emblems of peace and war, has a picture within the scope of the arch. The scroll issuing from its in some of its features uppecesses by stringers and the scope of the arch. The scroll issuing from the beak contains the following: "Emancipation in Maryland accomplished in 1864." Beneath the eagle is the following: "Maryland settled by George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore—Ireland—a Catholic in some of its features unnecessarily stringent, and too exacting toward the laborers, we forbore all severity of censure, conscious that we could not so wel judge of what was possible in the chaotic state of things in that section as those who were in authorit ranked among the most wise and Denevoien sav-givers of all ages. The first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practise of justice; to plan the es-tablishment of popular institutions with the enjoy-ment of liberty of conscience; to advance the on the soil; and trusting that, when all the facts should be known. Gen. Banks would be relieved of very much of the obloquy heaped upon him, if I iablishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the cause of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects."

Now, A. D. 1864, by emancipating over 100,000 Christian slaves, by the free votes of the people, proves that at last she is entirely true to the noble teachings of her Immortal Founder, and that she realizes his grand ideas of Justice by adopting a Constitution which secures to all men the enjoyment of all their natural rights, without regard to creed, color, or country. triumphantly vindicated in all his acts. At the last New England Anti-Slavery Convention, we took oc casion to speak forbearingly in his behalf, and mer tioned certain measures instituted by him which we thought greatly redounded to his credit. For this we were reproached by some, who seem to think that the test of abolitionism is to deal in wholesale impeachment, ignore rebutting evidence, and persist in damaging accusation—a test which we have never subscribed to, though it may appear to a jaundiced color, or country.

Hail to glorious Maryland! "Our" Maryland, vision to indicate superior jealousy for the cause of first to guarantee "free liberty of religion," first to unconditionally disenthral her slaves, first to typify the oppressed, lest in some measure it should be com

General Banks cannot have been ignorant of th condemnation so freely bestowed upon him in this section; but he has preserved a remarkable silence in regard to it, as one conscious that his policy was either greatly misconceived or grossly misrepresented, and which would in due time be vindicated by the result. Being on a visit to Massachusetts, he was re cently invited to deliver an address in Tremont Ten ple, before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association. Complying with the invitation, he took for his subject "The Condition of the Negro Population as connected with the Reorganization of Government in Rebel States"; and the able and satisfactory manne in which he treated it may be seen by a careful pe rusal of the very lucid and singularly dispassion address which occupies so large a portion of our present number. In it will be found no complaining of having been unjustly assailed-no personal retort no attempts at special pleading. Rising far above all such considerations, he proceeds to give a calm, philosophical, statesmanlike, almost impersonal view what has been done, constructively and absolutely top panel to the left represents the wounded scout and contraband. The former is held in an upright under his administration, to deliver the oppresse of from the yoke of bondage, give vitality and success to paralyzed industry, bring order out of chaos, re concile employers and the employed, disseminate light ground scene represents a Southern canebrake. This painting is taken from Rodgers' statuette, and it suggests a volume of history at once.

The top picture on the right represents a conflict and knowledge, establish and niultiply schools for those hitherto forbidden to learn the alphabet and se-The top picture on the right represents a conflict between a colored soldier and a secesh officer. The former has his bayonet at the breast of the rebel, while the other has his uplifted sword, and is about to does without the slightest indication of personal flation or egotistical self-complacency—but modestly, and with conscious rectitude of purpose in the dis-

deal a second blow, the first blow having already drawn blood from the soldier. The countenance of the rebel is a blending of savage ferocity, wildness of despair, and fear. The soldier has his left foot charge of high official duties. of despair, and fear. The soldier has his left foot firmly upon the rebel flag marked C. S. A. This represents a scene which already forms an interest-ing page in the history of the rebellion, as record-Let us glance at some of the particulars. Gener Banks estimates the number of slaves in Louisia exempted from emancipation by President Lincoln's Proclamation of January 1, 1863, at 150,000. Now On the left lower corner represents a slave auction in the State of Maryland. A well-developed slave master. In regard to their industrial employ tion in the State of Maryland. A well-developed descendant of Ham is already on the block. He serfilom, he declares that "it was established upon the stands with his arms folded. Behind him is the basis of absolute and perfect freedom of the negro all respects and all considerations to make him as in a "nigger-seller," before him a group of men of all sorts and sizes, apparently engaged in bidding against each other for the possession of the "chat-tel." At the foot of the auctioneer's desk are the dependent and to prepare him for as perfect an independence as that enjoyed by any other class of people on this continent." They were at liberty to select their own employer, and go where they pleased; only they were expected to labor in support of themselves an families somewhere, if not upon the plantations, then upon the government works. "Both parties," he avers, "accepted the proposition readily-those who were engaged in the cultivation of the soil, because they had no alternative—the negro, because he had no other desire," having his freedom and that of his wife and children secured, and getting for then clothing and rations from the government, besides educational privileges, in addition to a stipulated pecuniary remuneration. Nothing was done without the currence of the negroes : they brought to the gov ernment their own terms of labor, which were con plied with; the planters yielded; and the result i good will, mutual satisfaction, and growing prosperity So successful has been the experiment that General Banks says he does not believe there is required any change whatever in the state of labor that has bee in operation in Louisiana for two years past. In view of their peculiar situation, he believes that the wages of the laboring men in that State have been as remu nerative as those of Massachusetts, or any other par of the country. Why certain exactions were made of the planters and the laborers alike, he shows in a sat-

> As for the charge of serfdom, nothing of the kind exists. There is not a court in the State that does not recognize a negro, whether free or whether enslaved before the war, as a freeman entitled to all th rights and all the protection of a white man :-entitled to sue and be sued, to give his testimony in any of the courts, and to receive equitable compensation for his labor. The planter surrenders his right of propery in his slaves. They are absolutely independent of his will, while he is subject entirely to the government. They make no complaint of their condition or of their

> In regard to their education, the facts are equally cheering, and worthy of grateful recognition. eral Banks states that there are in the parishes con trolled by the government about fifteen thousand ne gro children. From eight to ten thousand of these are already in day schools. There are sixty Sabbatl schools, and twenty night schools for adults; and every regiment of the twenty or twenty-five regiments of colored troops has a teacher and an organization of the nature of a school. Surprising progress is making

by the scholars, whether old or young.

Take another fact, illustrative of the almost mirac lous change which has taken in public sentiment in New Orleans-New Orleans, which was formerly the synonym of all that was brutal and infernal toward

the colored race :-"At the celebration of the passage of the "At the celebration of the passage of the Act of Emancipation in June," says General Banks, "I saw in the city of New Orleans 20,000 or 25,000 colored people, as well dressed, as well behaved, as orderly as any people that I ever saw in Boston, or New York, or any city of the States. I saw a city of 175,000 people absolutely surrendered to the celebration of the passage of the Act of Emancipation. They occupied the streets and the squares the whole day. From surrise in the morning to the whole day. From sunrise in the morning to sunset in the evening, they were possessed of the city, and in the whole of that day not one disorder-

#### LETTER FROM MAJOR PLUMLY.

white person, so far as I know, came into collision with them, and nothing was witnessed during the day but the most perfect order and sobriety. I heard one hundred persons say that that celebra-tion could not heard. NEW ORLEANS, (La.) Oct. 20, 1864. My DRAR SIR-My letter which you printed has reached here, and has called out the enclosed articles I heard one hundred persons say that that celeura-tion could not have occurred under such circum-stances in the city of Boston, the city of New York, or the city of Providence; and I believe it. Every day, every hour in the day, you hear negro children singing the anthems of the Union in the streets or in their school-rooms. Wherever they are, the air free colored Creoles. The Tribune cannot be fairly said to represent that large and influential class of ou castes, very sharply defined. Some of them wer contributors to the rebel fund for the defence of the city against the Federal forces. Indeed, there are not more decided confederates to be found of things in New Orleans, under General Banks's ad-South than may be found among the free colored Creministration. Yet how has his policy been denounced. and what base motives have been attributed to him

At the adoption of the new State Constitution of Louisiana, it has been alleged here that the body of the black, except as a slave. he voters was made up of Banks's retainers and partrzans, by soldiers who had no right to participate in they are loyal. The principal in the paper is an edu-the election, &c. To this the General replies—"I cated physician, of skill and professional intelligence, venture to say that there have not been, of the 11,500 votes, 500 men voting who belonged to the army in any form whatever; and those men were citizens of Slavery of the North. This ignorance of party divis the State, and had a right to vote there." Before the war, the ordinary vote was 15 or 16,000. The new Constitution provides for the education of the State, garded as an "ogre," and they cared little about the irrespective of race or color. It enrolls in the militia to caste, condition, race or color; and it authorizes the Legislature to confer the right of suffrage upon ed any of the amenities of life. A lady, one of the the negro in consideration of intelligence, contribution of taxes, or service in arms-(this last provision being due to the direct personal influence of General Banks, according to the statement of Major Plumly in another column.) Are not these truly astonishing changes ! And do they not reflect great credit upon the humane purpose, the just endeavor, and the administrative

Finally, he declares his willingness to stake his life. that if three well-known abolitionists to whom he refers were to visit Louisiana for the purpose of investigating the condition of things there, the conclusi to which he has arrived would be the conclusion to which they would arrive. This is a strong declaration, and evinces deep sincerity and conscious success. And all these grand achievements wrought out of the most discordant, inflammable and conflictive elements -But let his entire address be closely perused and candidly pondered. Hail, renovated Louisiana!

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN RE-ELECTED BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY!

NATIONAL AND STATE ELECTIONS.

No Presidential Election has ever occurred at all omparable in magnitude, solemnity and far-reaching quences to the one which came off on Tuesday last. The hosts of freedom and the powers of despot ism met in a death-grapple, and the latter have bee sent howling to the pit from which they emanated while the former are singing songs of praise and thanksgiving. The doom of Rebellion and Slavery is now irrevocably pronounced.

The vote in Boston stood for Lincoln, 12,936: for McClellan, 7870; Lincoln's plurality, 5066. For Governor-Andrew, 12,788; for Palmer, 7941. Governor Andrew is re-elected by an immense majority

The greatest anxiety was felt in regard to the re sult in the Third and Fourth Districts; but to the general surprise and delight, the vote stood for Rice 9708; for Sleeper, 5865. For Hooper, 10,403; for These are signal triumphs. At an early hour in the evening, a procession of Mr. Rice's constituents was formed, and with lanterns and transparencies marched to his residence in Union Square, where, appearing on the balcony, he was congratulated by E. W. Kinsley, Esq. upon his re-election; to which Mr. Rice made a patriotic response.

thrilling effect, the familiar lines of the fine old hymn, "My native country, thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing," &c.

The band then struck up "Old Hundred," and the

vast concourse joined in singing the doxologysung with immense enthusiasm.

others, the great crowd remaining together, with of freedom. scarcely an appreciable diminution of its numbers, till

tained, is as follows: -807 towns foot up for Lincoln, great river; the scale of its projection; the 70.8141 28 towns to be heard from.

The State Senate is entirely Union, and the Demo-

of which McClellan has a majority of over 37,000.- exhilarating as "hasheesh"; its diminutive donkey-It is said that Fernando Wood and James Brooks are defeated for Congress.

A special Washington despatch states that General McClellan has sent in his resignation to the Secretary of War. It is to his deep disgrace that he did not do this long ago. The nation has strongly put its seal ed and tied, as only a colored woman can tie a turban of condemnation upon him. Let him shrink back the dotting uniforms of Federal officers, who have into his original insignificance.

MARYLAND A FREE STATE. The importance of scarcely be estimated.

At a meeting of Marylanders in New York last week, to exchange congratulations upon the abolition of slavery in their State, Dr. Snodgrass gave an interesting statement, showing how the pro-slavery party had bound, hand and foot, the people of Mary land, under the old Constitution of the State. He

"When the question was asked, why the subject "When the question was asked, why the subject of emancipation in Maryland was not left to the legislature, we answered, because the old Constitution forbade that course, by declaring that under no circumstances should the legislature touch 'the relation between master and slave.' Once the legislature had the power to act on the question, and to do as they thought best, provided two-thirds of both branches thereof should concur, and the next legislature assess. hereof should concur, and the next legislature, assem bling two years thereafter, should happen to confirm their enactments by a like majority of two-thirds But this privilege was snatched from the people's representatives by the inexcrable slave interest, through resentatives by the inextrable slave interest, through the next Constitution—that is, the one just supersed-ed—in which the clause, totally prohibiting legislation on the subject, was inserted as an insurmountable barrier, as it was hoped, to the progress of free principles. But, most unfortunately for the slave-holding interest, it was not far-seeing enough, after all. It permitted a provision to be inserted, which opened the way for the legislature to submit to the people the question of ordering a new Constitution, at stated periods—every ten years."

the New Orleans Tribune, the alleged organ of the The free colored Creoles are divided into it is rich, aristocratic, exclusive, and bitterly hostile

but, as you will see by the articles, not familiar with the relations of men and of parties in the early Antiions is not confined to men of color: it is a striking feature of all society here. varieties, while the species was so bad. I have been frequently amused, on being introduced as an Aboli tionist, at the expression of surprise that I had retainmost intelligent and elegant whom I have met in the South,-and such are not rare,-with whom I travelled several days, expressed to me her sense of horro when she learned that an Abolitionist was on board the boat,-the first of the genus she had ever seen The Tribune is, therefore, excusable in respect of its mistakes on that score. But its attempt to extend my and the wisdom of freedom " to all the colored Creok people, is disingenuous. No one knows better than the Tribune how highly I estimate that class of our people. What I said of them, in my speeches in this city, a year and a half ago, I repeat here, and now, with increased emphasis.

Measured by the political disabilities and other wrongs to which they have been so long subjected, the free colored Creoles of New Orleans and of Louisiana, as a class, excel in loyalty, courage, wealth, education, New Orleans, before the fall of Fort Hudson, when white men shrank from duty, the free colored Creoles sprang by regiments to the defence of a city and of Government that disowned them.

It was largely in consideration of this class that

the late Constitutional Convention of Louisiana, after abolishing slavery, and declaring that the Legislature shall pass no law recognizing property in man, inserted a clause, authorizing the Legislature to extend the right of suffrage to individuals or classes who may be qualified to vote by educational fitness, or by having fought for their country. Failing to exclude the word white" from the Constitution, the friends of the colored man fell back upon that clause. It was de feated by a strong vote. Four weeks afterward, upon the return of Major General Banks, by his clear and rcible statement of the case to leading men in th Convention, it was reconsidered and passed, and with the Constitution has been ratified by the people.

The Tribune implies a censure of me because I defend "Orders" of Major General Banks. I confess frankly, that I do not know of any "Order" of his affecting the colored man, that was not founded in not worked well.

I enclose the Report of our colored schools.\* You will see how they flourish. It is a noble labor, and fills every faculty with satisfaction. The efficiency of the schools is greatly promoted by the scholarship and labor of Lieut. E. M. Wheelock, chaplain of the 15th The congregated thousands united in singing, with N. H., who was detailed to service on the Board in the beginning. Chaplain Wheelock was the pastor of the Unitarian Church at Dover, N. H. No one but an old Abolitionist can realize my sense of exultant gratitude as I walk round the free city of New Or-leans, meeting constantly the grateful salute of the colored man, free and in arms, or hearing the voices 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,"-which of his children in church or school, or in a concertwas followed by the "John Brown Song," which was thousand strong-singing the national airs, or John Brown, or some liberty hymn of the period.

From the Square, the procession marched to Fa By order of Major General Banks, all the "signs' neuil Hall, which was crowded to overflowing with a of the slave pens or auctions were erased. The name joyous multitude, who greeted the returns, as the of Hatch's, Foster's, Wilson's, Campbell's, have distelegraph flashed them from every quarter of the appeared from their respective houses. Campbell's States, with cheers and shouts such as have seldom alave pen is a rebel-prison. "Got in dar ye-self," a been heard even within those venerable walls, where a black woman said, as she saw the rebel prisoners and inspiring speeches were made by Hon. Charles dar ye self now. De Lord's comin'." A few of the Sumner, Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. A. H. Rice, Hon. old slave-traders remain, gliding about like ghosts, Samuel Hooper, Dr. George B. Loring, and many and wasting away daily in the uncongenial atmosphere

The city of New Orleans, freed of all bondage and the signs thereof, is a city in which to dwell. Its lo-The grand result in Massachusetts, as far as ascer- cality and climate; the sweep of its crescent, on the 119,087; McClellan, 40,273. Lincoln's majority, ing width of its streets and avenues; the parks and shell-roads and cauals, with the lake beyond, opening upon the sea, from which there are over fifty water crats have thus far elected six members to the House avenues to the town; the garden-district, dotted with of Representatives, and these are from three wards of cosy homes and costly dwellings; the luxuriant foli-Boston in which the Irish element exerts a control- age; the wild mocking-birds; the varied flora; the ing power.

fish and game; the natural generosity and intense life of the people; the quaint old "French quarter," with can be set down as follows :- Maine 7, New Hamp- its narrow streets, low houses, tile roofs, latticed case shire 5, Vermont 5, Massachusetts 12, Rhode Island ments, beautiful women and graceful men, or ancien 6. Connecticut 6, Pennsylvania 26, Delaware 3, Ma dames with an amplitude of costume and great frills ryland 7, Ohio 21, Indiana 13, Illinois 16, Michigan and ruffles; or old men, with small feet and thin legs, Wisconsin 8, Iowa 8, Minnesota 4, Nebraska 4, who wear scull-caps and dressing gowns, and smoke Kansas 3, West Virginia 5, Missouri 11, California 5, all talking incessantly in their perplexing French, or Oregon 3. Total 183. Only 117 votes are needed to in the soft and winning Spanish or Italian; the old constitute an electoral majority. Loyalty has made a court-house, in which the very stones are whitening clean sweep, and Copperheadism is buried beyond from age and humidity; the "Jackson Square," over the hope of resurrection. McClellan is sure of one which the cathedral looks benignantly-crowded as State-perfidious Kentucky, with her 11 votes. New the church is, at daylight on Sunday morning, with Jersey and New York are still doubtful-though the devotees, who, after Mass, issue from the solemn en-Empire State has probably gone for Lincoln by a small closure and the grand music to the adjacent French market, with its Sicilian venders of fish and onions There were 109,000 votes cast in New York city, its coffee stands, with little cups of hot, black coffee carts, laden with hay, as primitive as in the days o Laban and Rachel; its handsome Creoles, lost in vast projecting sun-bonnets, with capes to the waist; each lady followed by a colored attendant with a basket, and wearing a picturesque turban gracefully fold arisen thus early to see; the army of smokers; the rush and push and twist and pull and hawl and jabber of all nationalities, intent on buying and selling, and this glorious act to Maryland, and to the nation, can flirting and coquetting :- beyond, a monkey show, with a famished boa-constrictor, a sickly looking tiger, a dilapidated monkey, and a baby with six toes; over the way, in a sequestered out-house, a cock-pit and a

near by, a huge machine, whirling constantly, t which is attached a squadron of hobby-horses, on which soldiers, even cavalry men, with civilians, men, women and children, of all shades and conditions whirl and whirl, for a dime apiece, and sing, and laugh, and have fun; -all these, together, make New Orleans like unto no other American city. He will not be wise ruler who shall attempt to Puritanize it by military order or by sumptuary laws.

If, sometimes, I am tempted to sigh for my Northern hills—and for the constellations that changed not through all the years of vicissitude—and for the snow movement of my people-I turn quickly to this new field, and say, "Here will I stay; for here is the Anti-Slavery labor to be finished.

B. RUSH PLUMLY. WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

We regret that we cannot find room for this very en-caraging Report in our present number.

## NOVEMBER 11.

REDEEMED MARYLAND

PHILADELPHIA, 11th mo., 2nd, 1864 WM. LLOYD GARRISON: ESTREMED FRIEND:-I spent a portion of estrement for the solution of selected and the solution of selected and the solution of selected and selected ed people in the abolition of slavery in Marylan with them over the abstract of stavery in Marylan I can attest to their good, indeed devont behavior can access to day. All their churches were open and well attended. One continued scene of that

giving and glory to the Most High prevailed. At Big Wesley Church, I was invited to their p At Big week, out the language of a ma pathetic heart? I never met more earnest, attente and grateful people. The remarks of their spain and grateful people. Also several of the Eastern Statern State of the Eastern State of the Ea were in the highest degree patriotic and Christi and I could not but sigh that these people are credit ed from the ballot-box, when every vote would be for the salvation of the country, while those con ing at its death are admitted.

The whole celebration was in strange contract with the frivolity and dissipation evinced on the celeb tion of our Independence day. Surely, we can lar of the negro; and surely, he consecrates his tag by thus assembling at the place of worship, and given thanks for every gain, and patiently and prayerful awaiting the glorious freedom of the futu aust come.

The illuminations and general rejoicing in theer

ning were all appropriate and orderly; and as I join in song and cheer, it was with thanks to God that was permitted to live to welcome this day, so differ ent from that when I stood aghast—a little child, won dering at the burning of old Pennsylvania Hall. May the redemption of Maryland precede but a

little while that of our whole country! Encouraged and encouraging, thy friend, ALFRED H. LOVE.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON :

DEAR SIR-I cannot resist the impulse which hids ne write you that MARYLAND IS FREE!

The dark cloud of oppression which has for so man years hung, like a pall, over this State, has at last beer made to disappear before the sunlight of Freedom which now shines refulgent upon this regenerate

The new Free Constitution went into effect on the let of November. The day was heralded into exist ence amid the firing of a salute of five hundred geas ompanied by a ringing of church and signal bela The national flag was displayed from all the passis buildings, the shipping, and many private dwelling At noon the chimes of Christ Church peeled for several national air-the "Star Spangled Bannes" Home of the Free," "Yankee Doodle," &c. Al the colored churches were opened, and had serties appropriate to the day.

This day will mark another and brighter epoch in the history of the State. Relieved now, as she is, of the incubus that so long retarded her progress, the will take her true position as a free Commonwealth For this great moral victory, too much praise cannot be accorded to R. Stockett Matthews, Judge Bool Archibald Sterling, Henry Stockbridge, and other, who worked most ardently for the adoption of this prelude to better days. These are all gentlemen high social position and moral stamina. Their roliti cal faith is as radical as yours, or your good friend Wendell Phillips.

Is it not a singular coincidence, that Chief Justice aney should breathe his last on the very day that the Constitution was ratified by the voice of the pe ple ? And again, Mr. Editor, were you aware that nearly all of the distinguished colored men of this country are natives of this State? We name, in part, Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel R. Ward, James W. C. Pennington, Benjamin Bannaker, William J. Watkins, Bishop Allen, and others; while she has given two Presidents to Liberia, in the person of Stephen Benson, and its present in Frederick Douglass lectures in this city on the 17th

I am, yours, in haste,

Baltimore, Nov. 6, 1864.

#### LETTER FROM REV. S. A. STEINTHAL 71 UPPER BROOK STREET,

MANCHESTER, (Eng.) Oct. 15, 1864. MY DEAR MR. GARRISON-For two years obliged to give up my dear Liverpool home, and the work in which I was here engaged. During the greater part of the time, I have travelled on the continent of Europe, and learning all that places famed in story could teach an invalid who could not devote much labor or study. At last I have come bad W. L. Garrison and again to dear old England, and a few days ago ina negro as an equa ceived from a friend's hands two numbers of the Like rator, and at the same time was told that never was I know what I say the expression of English opinion on the subject of On that evening relations between I arose, (immediately

the struggle going on in the United States more welcome than it is now. I cannot speak with any acthority as to general feeling; I have not had the means of judging as men like George Thompson, or Professor Goldwin Smith, or T. H. Barker have. have been out of public life some time, but I can us something about the nearer circle of my own friends; and there I can myself say I know but very few Southern sympathizers. I know several who look doubtfully as to the complete conversion of the North to anti-slavery principle; who believe that much a the late action in favor of emancipation has been die tated more by a feeling of policy than of deep-sealed belief in the essential rights of humanity. I lay some such feelings in my own heart; but at the asset time all these persons-and again I include myselfknow so well that the only motive of the Southern ers in attempting secession has been the determina tion to uphold and propagate slavery, at every hazar even at the risk of national ruin; all of us are so coo vinced that the cry of independence on the part of the South simply means independence on everything that could limit slaveholding; that whether the North be honest or not in its claims for abolitionism, we must go against its aggressors, for they are in favor of the vilest oppression that ever cursed humanity We earnestly long to see the South taught this great lesson, that the nineteenth century cannot bear the establishment of a government based upon a denial of all human rights to the producers of wealth; that its very political economy revolts against the scheme and when men rise to higher thoughts than those of material comfort and outward prosperity, they only see more clearly, that the God of Right and Justice

with sorrow, at the dawn of that emancipation for

which I have prayed and spoken and written no state

number of years. I think in one of your own paper.

many years ago, I declared my own belief that free

through a fierce and bloody struggle. I regret that

my expectation was well-founded, but now as then

would declare my belief that freedom, even though

s passing; but the self-devotion you are manifesting

the sacrifices you are making to clear away the dark

stain of slavery, will not be without avail eren h

reeking any selfish object, your sacrifices become tray

holy, and God will in the end bless your labors. Your

nation, possessed of natural advantages such as are

possessed by few, with freedom to grow in accordant

"model Republic," and lovers of true freeden will

with growing wants, and freed from which fettered your progress, will become indeed

n the only borden

yourselves. Not seeking self-aggrandizement,

it be bought by blood, is worth the cost.

Sad is the ordeal through which your great

om could not come to the American slaves, excel

DEAR SIR,-You cannot approve of a rule founded upon the grant of . I have no di his outraged children, and which one whole race must be sacrificed to support. And I may claim as an Ab olitionist of the old school to rejoice, even though

k across the Atlan n God speed in you It is not possible niversal freedom wi or am I rash enough

NOVE

to the date of that be delayed longer ill only be that the sed may be strer fellow-citizens. You very ideas advance: ys in crushing the not have opened us ca ious chastisements, ns true that anti-s cess and temporary faith: God's hand is and to your fait e days of mingled had but listened to had but hearkened w ddressed to their co and suffering would But in the midst of the nust rejoice to think, do, to avert the mise

bitter root whence t done, in season and quarter of a century. red efforts for the My sympathy you ha the medium of my wa friends who are work Syracuse, and his na Parker Pillsbury and whom I have the hon my kindest regards.

P. S. I was glad W. P. Powell. I Liverpool days. [Yo MR. SELLA MAR

With sincerest

BAYSWATER To the Editor of the I ersistent charge of forces me to recur t heart. I can pass by cause I would not sit concerning men, wh where "American pass unchallenged in So far as in me lies ablication of the gentleman to whom minent ability, a wa have reason to believ tin. I have myself n

Yours, truly,

DEAR SIR-On th

were present at a me tion held at Islingt over by the Rev. A by yourself, Rev. S At that meeting, so and myself. In a le monwealth, of which mediately after that the most popular man Sella Martin called I ence received it wit declares this a misre with the slightest in the correctness of the at the meeting must was describing the politics through alay coln, though he hater were marks of sur Martin continued : " he wishes to get the America, or somew the sensation produc ded, Mr. Martin spo Under this I wince on the stage says he man, and has not "Does Mr. Martin,

lelt it my duty, befo the points raised by litionists and Mr. L five minutes in the clares, much to my tinctly conscious of oted several min despite his silly proj country—no easy to The rest of my r admits, except that, anybody," &c., he as place for personalitie speaker at that me se time, and am su far as I have given ! this last phrase to the Now, sir, you wer that you observed o

, according to yo Regretting the ne I am, yours, EDMOND BRALES, ing, Lincoln's Inc

casion. I therefore

report, as above, the

of time, of any part 1868; but I well rer observations as to apon those opposed clading the Abolition colored men as an that he himself had judice against his re net with. At the s feeling was passing present struggle wo this ankindly prejunally referred to speech as evidence in the subject. I re slavery in the No

itionista, to treat the some indistinct reco marks relative to M

bly received by the member the words Mr. Martin afterwa

rain the language of a symmet more earnest, attentive the remarks of their speak-several of the Eastern States gree patriotic and Christian; that these people are exclud-when every vote would be country, while those constr-

was in strange contrast with ation evinced on the celebra-e day. Surely, we can learn ly, he consecrates his cause place of worship, and giving nd patiently and prayerfully

general rejoicing in the eve-and orderly; and as I joined as with thanks to God that I welcome this day, so differod aghast-a little child, wonold Pennsylvania Hall. of Maryland precede but a uraging, thy friend, ALFRED R. LOVE.

resist the impulse which bids YLAND IS FREE! ression which has for so many ver this State, has at last been ore the sunlight of Freedom,

tution went into effect on the day was heralded into exista salute of five hundred guns ng of church and signal bella displayed from all the publi , and many private dwellings. Christ Church peeled forth " Yankee Doodle," &c. All ere opened, and had services

te. Relieved now, as she is. ong retarded her progress, she on as a free Commonwealth. ctory, too much praise cannot kett Matthews, Judge nry Stockbridge, and others, ntly for the adoption of this These are all gentlemen of moral stamina. Their politiyours, or your good friend

pincidence, that Chief Justice his last on the very day that tifled by the voice of the peo-Editor, were you aware the guished colored men of this this State? We name, in ss, Henry Highland Garnet, W. C. Pennington, Benjamin Watkins, Bishop Allen, and ven two Presidents to Liberia, n Benson, and its present in

ectures in this city on the 17th yours, in haste, WM. E. MATTHEWS. 34.

EV. S. A. STEINTHAL. R BROOK STREET, ER, (Eng.) Oct. 15, 1864. RRISON-For two years or lear Liverpool home, and the here engaged. During the e, I have travelled on the conearning all that places famed invalid who could not devote At last I have come back nd, and a few days ago I re-ands two numbers of the Libe-time was told that never was sh opinion on the subject of

cannot speak with any auen like George Thompson, or th, or T. H. Barker have. I life some time, but I can say arer circle of my own friends; If say I know but very few I know several who look plete conversion of the North ; who believe that much of of emancipation has been dicof policy than of deep-sealed rights of humanity. I have y own heart; but at the same and again I include myselfonly motive of the Southern agate slavery, at every hazard nal ruin; all of us are so co independence on the part of independence on everything ding; that whether the North claims for abolitionism, we ressors, for they are in favor

that ever cursed humanity e the South taught this great enth century cannot bear the rnment based upon a denial of producers of wealth; that its revolts against the scheme; atward prosperity, they only be God of Right and Justice le founded upon the groans of nd which one whole race must And I may claim as an Abhool to rejoice, even though wn of that emancipation d spoken and written no smail nk in one of your own papel ared my own belief that the American slaves, except loody struggle. I regret that f that freedom, even though

s worth the cost. ugh which your great cou levotion you are manifesting, aking to clear away the dark ot be without avail even to g self-aggrandizement, not t, your sacrifices become truly end bless your labors. Your tural advantages such as are reedom to grow in accorda d freed from the only barden ogress, will become indeed a lovers of true freedom will

NOVEMBER 11.

look across the Atlantic with rejoicing spirits to wish God speed in your path. It is not possible to foresee the events by which

ersal freedom will be established on your shores; gram I resh enough to venture upon any prophecy the date of that long looked for day; but even if is to the date of the delayed longer than we now think, I believe it is the delayed longer than we now think, I believe it will only be that the true feeling of duty to the oppresed may be strengthened in the hearts of your low citizens. Your sufferings have made anti-slay ideas advance: if you had succeeded in thirty in crushing the rebellion, so many eyes would have opened as can see now. Even in His mystethe opened as God is working out good. So it true that anti-slavery men must look upon sucand temporary failures with deep and trustful God's hand is with you in both. To you, dear and to your faithful fellow-workers, these must days of mingled grief and thankfulness. If men be days of imagine and words of warning, if they had but listened to your words of warning, if they had but hearkened when your earnest appeals were addressed to their consciences, how much sorrow and suffering would have been spared to mankind! at in the midst of these days of agony your hearts in the man beings could o avert the misery of civil war by destroying the root whence the evil should arise, you have doe, in season and out of season, for more than a quarter of a century. May God bless your still coned efforts for the oppressed and the down-trodden! My sympathy you have now as ever. Will you be he medium of my warmest good wishes to those dear the median who are working with you? To Mr. May of rends was and his namesake in your own State; to Parker Pillsbury and George Thompson; to all to Parker I meson; to all to whom I have the honor of being known, I would send my kindest regards. With sincerest respect and regard,

Yours faithfully, S. ALFRED STEINTHAL. P. S. I was glad to see in the Liberator a letter (W. P. Powell. I suppose it is my old friend of Liverpool days. [Yes.]

VR SELLA MARTIN AND MR. CONWAY.

28 NOTTING HILL SQUARE,
BAYSWATER, W. LONDON, Oct. 22, 1864.

Tathe Editor of the Liberator : DEAR SIR-I deeply regret that Mr. Martin's sistent charge of misrepresentation against me nes me to recur to a dispute for which I have no art. I can pass by the charge of "rudeness," beage I would not sit quietly and allow a serious error neerning men, whose names were in every mind bere "American Abolitionists" are spoken of, to as anchallenged into circulation.

So far as in me lies, this matter shall rest with the ablication of the subjoined correspondence. The callenan to whom I referred this matter is of prement ability, a warm advocate of our cause, and, I e reason to believe, a personal friend of Mr. Marin I have myself no personal acquaintance with him M. D. CONWAY. Yours, truly,

CORRESPONDENCE. 28 Notting Hill Square, Bayswater W., Oct. 13.

DEAR SIR-On the evening of May 7, 1863, you ere present at a meeting for Union and Emancipan held at Islington. The meeting was presided or by the Rev. A. C. Thomas, and was addressed yourself, Rev. Sella Martin, myself, and others. at that meeting, some things occurred which have sioned some correspondence between Mr. Martin and myself. In a letter written to the Boston Commaxealth, of which I was Corresponding Editor, im-ediately after that meeting, I said: "Mr. Lincoln is e most popular man in England. The other night, ella Martin called him a negro-hater, and the audice received it with disapprobation." Mr. Martin clares this a misrepresentation. It was not written with the slightest intent to do him any injury; but of the correctness of the statement, all who were present at the meeting must be able to judge. Mr. Martin vas describing the general corruption of American lities through slavery, and said, "Even Mr. Linin, though he hates slavery, hates the negro." Here vere marks of surprise and disapprobation. Mr. Martin continued : "He wishes the slaves free, but t wishes to get them out of the country-to South merica, or somewhere else." Further on, when sensation produced by these remarks had subsifed, Mr. Martin spoke of the corruption of even the Solitionists in America, through slavery. Even he alleged, would not treat a negro as an equal. Inder this I winced, and said, sotto voce, "I doubt that." Whereupon Mr. Martin said : " A gentleman on the stage says he doubts that : he is not a colored nan, and has not felt the shoe pinch as I have." Does Mr. Martin," I inquired, "mean to say that W. L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips would not treat a segro as an equal?" To which he replied: "I not exculpate anybody or inculpate anybody; but know what I say to be true."

On that evening I gave a prepared address on the relations between England and America. When I rose, (immediately after Mr. Martin,) I said that I elt it my duty, before reading my paper, to reply to the points raised by Mr. Martin concerning the Aboanists and Mr. Lincoln. I occupied some four or te minutes in these comments. Mr. Martin deares, much to my astonishment, that he said nothag of the kind about Mr. Lincoln; while I am disincly conscious of having in that public meeting eroted several minutes to defending Mr. Lincoln, sepite his silly proposal to the negroes to leave the untry-no easy task did I find it, either.

The rest of my report of the meeting Mr. Martin mits, except that, instead of "I do not exculpate hybody," &c., he says he replied, " This is not the ace for personalities." Being a reporter as well as weaker at that meeting, I took down his words at time, and am sure I have given them carefully, so arm I have given them at all. (He may have added

ast phrase to that I have given.) Now, sir, you were at that meeting, and I am sure the you observed carefully what was said on the octherefore request you to tell me if in my port, as above, there is anything that does an injusaccording to your memory and impression. Regretting the necessity of obtruding this personal

atter apon your attention,

1 am, yours, very respectfully,
M. D. CONWAY. DROND BEALES, Esq., Barrister, 3 Stone Building Lincoln's Inn.

BOULOGNE, s. mer, 21st Oct., 1864.

DRIE SIE,-Your letter has been forwarded to me the. I have no distinct recollection, at this distance ime, of any particular expressions made use of by le Sella Martin at the Islington meeting in May, but I well remember the general purport of his erstions as to the evil effects of slavery even those opposed to it in the Northern States, inthe Abolitionists, inducing them to regard the and men as an inferior race; and his statement has he himself had bitterly felt the effects of the pre-ide against his race in the treatment which he had et with. At the same time, he considered that this was passing away, and that the result of the tent struggle would be to do away altogether with takindly prejudice in the North. I have occareferred to this portion of Mr. Sella Martin's exidence that he was an impartial witness to the subject. I remember your interruption, when remed to the indisposition of even the opponents satery in the Northern States, including the Abodienth, to treat the negroes as equals; and I have indistinct recollection of his making some rethe relative to Mr. Lincoln, which were not favorahy received by the meeting, but I cannot precisely reober the words which were used, nor whether L. Martia afterwards used the exact words: "I do

not exculpate anybody or inculpate anybody, but I ANDREW JOHNSON'S GREAT SPEECH TO know what I say to be true," in reference to Mr. Gar rison and Mr. Phillips, when you interrupted him; but I certainly, to the best of my recollection, think he used those words, or as nearly as possible those words.

I am, dear sir, yours, faithfully, EDM'D BEALES.

LETTER FROM MISS SARAH P. REMOND.

AUBREY HOUSE, NOTTING HILL, LONDON, October 22, 1864. DEAR MR. GARRISON-Please accept the accompanying donation of five dollars, as my "mite" for the Liberator. I should regret exceedingly to have it discontinued, and to know that that faithful and most uncompromising journal was no longer bearing its tes-timony against chattel slavery. The Liberator is as-

sociated with my earliest recollections, and I have always looked there, and never failed to find words of sociated with my earliest recollections, and I have always looked there, and never failed to find words of hope and sympathy for my most oppressed race.

You probably know that I am residing with a dear friend, Mrs. P. A. Taylor, the honorary Secretary of the "Ladies' London Emancipation Society." Mrs.

Taylor is the wife of P. A. Taylor, Esp., M. P. the Taylor is the wife of P. A. Taylor, Esq., M. P., the

But I only intended to write you a line. I am sincerely and most gratefully yours, SARAH P. REMOND.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XX. New York, Nov. 3, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

The grand event of the week—the ominous prelude to the drama of universal emancipation—is the effective establishment of the new Constitution of Maryland amid official and popular demonstrations of re-

In the Convention, the abolitionists were easily in the ascendant. Their opponents achieved only partial and momentary triumphs. At the polls, the enemies of reform well-nigh preponderated. They mustered their fullest numbers, waded through perjury to the ballot-boxes, and there employed their former acts of fraud and brow-beating. The law which forbade the presence of an armed force within a certain distance of the voting-booths was strictly observed; and one can imagine the régime of the country districts, who is aware that even in Baltimore, the stronghold of the new Constitution, scenes just falling short of violence and riot were enacted, in the hope to intimidate the friends of liberty. So far from perceptible was been passing away; but the hour has come when

cannon, the display of banners, and the music of patriotism. Henceforth they may expect a free ballot without the preliminary of a free fight; for the law and the power of the State are now on the side of justice, and the barbarism which it was formerly profitable to serve with brutality has become bankrupt, and cannot keep its retainers. The era of border-ruffanism is past; the era of manhood begins, with none to molest or to make afraid. The redemption of Maryland ought to have been celebrated, and would have been, in a time of peace, by every free community in the Union, not only because of the moral advantages which each part of the country derives from the purification of any other, but also in consideration of the material gain, the added strength of the nation, and the further security from domestic disorder. There is not an honest interest in the land which is not safer to-day because Maryland has put away slandster to-day because Maryland has not safer to-day because Maryland has put away slavery; no plan, no enterprise, commercial, social, individual, which merits success and is contingent upon the future, that has not been helped to its fruition by the same great act. Especially do the States immediately adjoining deserve to be grateful for the new content of the property of the points in his speech, which made the deepest impression on my diately adjoining deserve to be grateful for the new order of things—Delaware, Pennsylvania, and even Virginia herself. For the foul growth which has just been felled across their borders struck its roots deepet est in the nearest soil. The Keystone State is worther to hold the national arch together now than at any time since it claimed that proud position. Some and at any time since it claimed that proud position. Some as yet it will blush to think itself so insensible to the injurious effects of the vicinage of slavery, and to its own concern in the disenthrallment of its slave-ridden sister, as to leave to its colored citizens almost exclusively the recognition of its great good fortune, and the content of the princely estates of Gen.

But how could white Philadelphia, which is still in bondage to slavery, take pleasure in the emancipation of others from the same yoke? Are not colored people still excluded from the horse-cars of that city? and is it in deference to any other power than that for whose overthrow the bells of Baltimore rang out so merrily on Tuesday last? Oppression is smitten in the house of her friends, and is cherished by those who should be strangers to her.

The honorable practice of body-snatching has been revived by the Democratic party, whom half-prophetically I likened in my last to the sarcophagous ghout of the Arabian story. The identity of the rebels and the Copperheads is again rendered strikingly manifests both plunder the grave in order to recruit their ranks. It is considered dastardly to strike an adversary who is incapable of resistance—infamous and shocking to desecerate a corpee; but what term shall we discover, or, failing to discover, invent, to characterize the attempted election frauds in the name of our deal patric, or, failing to discover, invent, to characterize the attempted election frauds in the name of our deal patric, or, failing to discover, invent, to characterize the attempted election frauds in the name of our deal patric, or, failing to discover, invent, to ings-Delaware, Pennsylvania, and even

never go backward. The doom of the Democracy

ducted in a liberal and progressive spirit. Its editor appears to be animated by the highest philanthropic

THE COLORED PEOPLE.

HE PROCLAIMS PREEDOM TO ALL MEN IN TENNESSEE.

Special Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette. NASHVILLE, Tenn., October 26, 1864. I have said the speech of Gov. Johnson, delivered to the colored population of Nashville on Monday night, was one of the most remarkable to which it was ever my fortune to listen. The time, the place, the circumstances, the audience, the man, all combined to make a powerful impression upon a spectator's night.

tor's mind.

The time was the fourth year of the rebellion—the The time was the fourth year of the recental ever of a great political contest which was to leter-mine for all time whether freedom or slavery in America should be overthrown.

The place was the proud city of the slaveholders, and immediately in front of the haughty Capitol of

Tennessee.

The circumstances were such as exist only amid

Taylor is the wife of P. A. Taylor, Esq., M. P., the member for Leicester, whose voice, in and out of Parliament, has been heard in behalf of the American slave, and whose testimony is recorded against a Southern Confederacy based upon chattel slavery, and whose speeches you will recall.

We are now waiting with some anxiety and intense interest the result of the Presidential election. Abolitionists generally desire the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, as any influence which defeats the "Copperheads" must, to some extent, promote our cause. It is quite certain that the election of McClellan would be received by the confederates with enthusiasm, and also give fresh courage to their allies in Great Britain also give fresh courage to their allies in Great Britain

Governor Johnson had already commenced speaking when I succeeded in forcing my way through the dense crowd of men and women who surrounded him, and stood within a few feet of him. I have said that he spoke from the steps leading up from the street (Cedar) to the State House yard. In front the street was filled up by a mass of human beings so closely compacted together that they seemed to compose one vast body, no part of which could move without moving the whole. The State House yard itself, and the great stone wall which separates it from the street, were also thronged. Over this vast crowd, the torches and transparencies, closely gathered together near the speaker, cast a ruddy glow; and as the light extended, the crowd could be seen stretching either way up and down the street. ing either way up and down the street.

THE PROCLAMATION. lence and riot were enacted, in the hope to intimidate the friends of liberty. So far from perceptible was that military interference which the Copperhead press have angrily denounced, and which Gov. Seymour warns us is not to be tolerated in this State on Tuesday next!

Very properly did the citizens and city authorities of Baltimore usher in the month with the roar of cannon, the display of banners, and the music of patriotism. Henceforth they may expect a free ballot without the preliminary of the Capital, with the pat history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and its future to encourage me, I, Andrew Johnson, do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad and unconditional, to every man in Tennes et "

It was one of those moments when the speaker seems inspired, and when his audience, catching the

ANDREW JOHNSON'S AGRARIANISM.

THE NASHVILLE ARISTOCRACY EXPOSED

only testify afresh to the axiom, that moral revolutions never go backward. The doom of the Democracy and the rebellion will be pronounced in a single phrase—the death-sentence of slavery.

And so, the nation approaches the four years' crisis which it has often weathered, but never in such a sea as that on which it now tosses. Black are the heavens, and the air full of portentous mutterings—the waves afoam with rage, their thousand tongues lapping the laboring craft with hungry fierceness—rocks visible on every side, and shoals and reefs in treacherous waiting, unmarked on any chart. If the man at the wheel stands firm, the darkness may close around, the waves may gather for their deadliest topple, the breakers may roar, and the uncovered sands behold the lightning,—no harm shall come to the lordly hull. But if the shock displace him, then wo to the vessel of State—"Nave sensa nocchiero in gran tempetat".

A ship in heavy stress without a pilot!

M. DU PAYS.

M. Clark continues to edit the School Visitor, which will be published at Philadelphia, as heretofore. It is a very interesting and instructive periodical, and conducted in a liberal and progressive spirit. Its editor appears to be animated by the highest philanthropic and cockrines, in a sublime and tearful enthusiand of the continues of slaved in which he deactribed and denounced the aristocracy of Nashville, I cannot hope to render properly, but there was one point which I must not overlook.

"The representatives of this Governor's speech in which he described and denounced the aristocracy of Nashville, I cannot hope to render properly, but there was one point which I must not overlook.

"The representatives of this Governor's speech in which he described and denounced the aristocracy of the low overlook.

"The representatives of this Governor's speech in which he described and denounced the sirile properly but there was one point which I must not overlook.

"The representativ

vice!"
"We will! we will!" cried the assembled thousands; and joining in a sublime and tearful enthusiam, another mighty shout went up to heaven.

THE MOSES OF THE COLORED MEN.

"Looking at this vast crowd of colored people," continued the Governor, "reflecting through what a storm of persecution and obloquy they are compelled to pass, I am almost induced to wish that, as in the days of old, a Moses might arise who should lead them safely to their promised land of freedom and happiness."

You are our Moses," shouted several voices, and

"You are our Moses," shouted several voices, and the exciamation was caught up and cheered until the Capitol rung again.
"God," continued the speaker, "no doubt has prepared somewhere an instrument for the great work he designs to perform in behalf of this outraged people; and in due time your leader will come forth; your Moses will be revealed to you."
"We want no Moses but you!" again shouted the crowd.

"We want no Moses but you!" again shouted the crowd.

"Well, then," replied the speaker, "humble and unworthy as I am, if no other better shall be found, I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace. I speak now as one who feels the world his country, and all who love equal rights his friends. I speak, too, as a citizen of Tennessee. I am here on my own soil; and here I mean to stay, and fight this great battle of truth and justice to a triumphant end. Rebellion and slavery shall, by God's good help, no longer pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control her destinies; and when this strife in which we are all engaged is past, I trust, I know, we shall have a better state of things, and shall all rejoice that honest labor reaps the fruit of its own industry, and that every man has a fair chance in the race of life."

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm which followed these words. Joy beamed in every countenance. Tears and laughter followed each other in quick succession. The great throng moved and swayed back and forth in the intensity of emotion; and shout after shout rent the air.

A man might have exchanged an ordinary immortality to have made such a speech to such an audience, and been much the gainer.

It was a speech significant of one of the loftiest

tality to have made such a speech to such an audience, and been much the gainer.

It was a speech significant of one of the loftiest positions to which mankind, struggling upward toward universal freedom, has as yet attained.

The great Tribune descended from the steps of the capitol. As if by magic, the dense throng parted to let him through. And all that night long his name was mingled with the curses and execrations of the traitor and oppressor, and with the blessings of the oppressed and poor.

Y. S.

GEORGE THOMPSON AT THE CAPITAL OF VERMONT.

The celebrated English Anti-Slavery Agitator, George Thompson, visited Montpelier last Thursday, in response to the invitation of the General Assembly to address them. The Representatives' Hell was thrown open to him Thursday evening, and a brilliant to address them. The Representatives' Hall was thrown open to him Thursday evening, and a brilliant audience crowded the Chamber, occupying every inch of available room, to receive and welcome the distinguished apostle of the gospel of freedom. The Hall never presented a finer picture, resplendent with a multitude of jets of burning gas, and brilliant with the thousand rich and gay colors which adorned the fairer portion of the audience. The men who had known, admired, almost loved George Thompson thirty years ago, when his voice was first heard in this country denouncing with his wonderful eloquence the infamous institution of slavery, were among the audience, come to hear and see him face to face whom they had hitherto held in such great admiration. Younger men, who had later joined the anti-slavery movement, were not a whit behind the pioneers in the cause in their desire to hear him who had been the champion of anti-slavery when it required a bold man to speak in its behalf, even in England. And hundreds of those whe, four years ago, would hardly have cared even by their presence to welcome this agitator—who is even now, by such good conservative people as are a long way behind the age and the march of events, stigmatized as a fanatic—were there to hear this overter of world, wide celebrity. And on the itator—who is even now, or start and the march people as are a long way behind the age and the march of events, stigmatized as a fanatic—were there to hear this orator of world-wide celebrity. And on the outskirts of the crowd, and where they thought they might be safe from the arrows of his terrible sareasm, lingered a few of the pro-slavery Democrats of our time, whose admiration of his genius had drawn them within the charmed circle of those who listened to the noble oratory of George Thompson.

At seven o'clock Mr. Thompson, accompanied by Lt. Governor Dillingham, President of the Senate, and Hon. A. B. Gardner, Speaker of the House, entered the Chamber. Lt. Gov. Dillingham introduced Mr. Thompson. For two hours the distinguished gentleman held the crowded auditory entranced by the magic of his clear reasoning, his admirable arrangement of facts, and his magnificent rhetoric. We shall make no attempt to give even an abstract of the

ment of facts, and his magnificent rhetoric. We shall make no attempt to give even an abstract of the speech. It was reported by an accomplished shorthand writer, and, after being revised by Mr. Thompson, will be published in pamphlet form, and we hope then to be able to give our readers the larger part, if not the whole of it, in the Freeman. The dense assemblage in the Hall were delighted and captivated by the grand eloquence and the perfect elocution of the speaker, and the speech will have a large sale.

Mr. Thompson was, we understand, well pleased with his reception here. It was his first visit to Vermont, but he expressed the confident opinion that it would not be his last; and we are sure every one who heard him will be rejoiced to have another opportunity

heard him will be rejoiced to have another opportunity to welcome to Vermont this English friend of Ameri-ca, this warm-hearted champion of the rights of man. —Montpelier Freeman.

OVATION TO GEORGE THOMPSON. 1835 vs. 1864.

The largest audience ever gathered within the walls of any building in this city assembled last evening at Eagle Hall, to do honor to George Thompson, and to manifest by their presence and interest the marked change which has taken place in the popular sentiment of America on the question of human rights, and in favor of Justice and Liberty. At an early hour all the seats were taken, and all the available standing room occupied. At half-past 7 o'clock, Mr. Thompson, accompanied by Mayor Gale, B. F. Prescott and Colonel Wm. E. Chandler, was escorted from the Eagle Hotel to the Hall by a company of the Reserve Corps and the Brigade Band. Mr. Prescott, in a brief and complimentary manner, introduced Mr. Thompson to the audience, who greeted him heartily.

duced Mr. Hompson to the audience, who greeted him heartily.

Mr. Thompson said: Nine and twenty years ago, I paid my first visit to Concord. What I was then, that I am now. If I was the enemy of your country then, I am so to day; if I was the friend of America then, I am so to-day; if I was the friend of America then, I am equally so to-night. It may be asked, why should an Englishman, at this crisis, speak to an American audience? It is because I have been the defender and eulogizer of your institutions in England; I have always been an admirer of your democratic form of government; and for four years past have devoted my time, energy and means to counteract the aims and designs of the enemies of your country in England,

If I was an American citizen, I should support Abraham Lincoln and Andy Johnson, as the representatives of true American democracy—not that

Mr. Thompson then enumerated various weighty easons for preferring Mr. Lincoln to Gen. McClellan reasons for preferring Mr. Lincoln to Gen. McClellan Mr. Thompson proceeded at length to show that slavery had been the only element to disturb the peace of the country, and traced its progress from the early formation of the government down to the time it culminated in rebellion against the government. How it controlled the political, religious, moral, social, commercial and literary institutions of the country, closing this part of his address with a new and impressive application of the scriptural passage, "Render unto Casar the things which are Casar's, and unto God the things which are God's."

He then proceeded to say that there were two nations in England—an aristocracy and the common people. If you succeed, aristocracy falls in England. It cannot be for you, in the very nature of things.

tional amendment forever abolishing and prohibiting slavery.

At the close of the address of two hours and a half, Mr. Thompson was greeted with prolonged cheers.

Owing to a misunderstanding, General Hinks was not present, but shortly after 10 o'clock an extra train arrived from Manchester, bringing Vice President Hamlin, who was exorted to the Hall by the Reserve Corps and Band. He made a characteristic speech of nearly an hour, of which our limits will not permit us to give an abstract to-day. Suffice it to say that it was patriotic and telling, and elicited hearty responses from the andience that patiently waited until the close of the meeting. At the conclusion of the speech, cheer upon cheer was given for Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Thompson, as the representative of English democracy, our boys in blue, and Lincoln and Johnson.—Concord (N. H.) Monitor.

RETALIATION IN THE ARMY OF THE POTONAC.— Currespondence between Lee and Grant.—The follow-ing is a synopsis of correspondence which lately passed between General Lee and Grant, on the subject of retaliation :

"General Lee opened the correspondence on October 16, in a letter in which he says that he learns that the rebel Secretary of War has information from Gen. Butler, that the latter had placed Confederate officers and soldiers at work on Dutch Gap, in retaliation for Federal colored soldiers who had been placed in the Richmond fortifications by the Confederate authorities.

Richmond fortifications by the Confederate authorities.

Lee then goes on to say that his Government has pursued the following policy: All negroes in the military or mayal service of the United States taken prisoners by the Confederate forces, and who are not identified as the property of citizens of the Confederacy, are treated as proper subjects of exchange; but negroes who owe service or labor to citizens of the Confederacy, and are found in the Federal army, occupy, he says, a different position. The rights to the service or labor of the negro slaves in the Confederate States are the same, he adds, as when those States were members of the Union. The Constitutional relations and obligations of the Confederacy to this kind of property are the same as those so long maintained by the Federal Government.

gations of the Confederacy to this kind of property are the same as those so long maintained by the Federal Government.

Gen. Lee then reviews the history of our country relative to the abduction of negroes, at length, and concludes by saying that fifty colored soldiers, captured from Gen. Butter, were recognized as belonging to residents of the Confederacy, and these men were ordered to work on the Richmond fortifications until their owners should claim them; but shey have been withdrawn. He says, further, that if any negroes are included among those placed on the fortifications who were not identified by their owners, he is not aware of it. These colored men, he declares, are not exposed to our fire. Gen. Lee then concludes as follows: In view of the statement that I have made, I now inquire whether the course pursued toward our prisoners—that of placing them to work it will be maintained?

Gen. Grant's reply is as follows:

Gen. Grant's reply is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, October 28, 1864. To Gen. R. E. Lee, C. S. A., Commanding Army of

To Gen. R. E. Lee, C. S. A., Commanding Army of Northern Virginia:

General: Understanding from your letter of the 16th that the colored prisoners who were employed in the trenches near Fort Gilmer have been withdrawn, I have directed the withdrawal of the Confederate prisoners employed in the Dutch Gap Canal. I shall always regret the necessity of retaliation for wrongs done our soldiers, but regard it my duty to protect all persons received into the army of the United States, regardless of color or nationality. When acknowledged soldiers of the Government are captured, they must be treated as prisoners of war, or such treatment as they receive will be inflicted upon an equal number of prisoners held by us.

an equal number of prisoners held by us.

I have nothing to do with the discussion of the slavery question, and therefore decline answering arguments adduced to show the right to return to former owners such negroes as are captured from our

mer owners such negroes as are captured from our army.

In answer to the question at the conclusion of your letter, I have to state that all prisoners of war falling into my hands shall receive the kindest treatment possible consistent with securing them, unless I have good authority for believing any number of our men are being treated otherwise. Then, painful as it may become, I shall inflict like treatment upon an equal number of Confederate prisoners. Hoping it may never become necessary to order retaliation upon any man held as a prisoner of war, I have the honor to be very respectfully, Your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant, Lieutenant General.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY IN THE NORTH. WEST.

WEST.

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 4. Horace Heffron, Deputy Grand Commander of the "Sons of Liberty" in Indiana, who is on trial here for participation in the treasonable conspiracy, to-day turned State's evidence, and made startling revelations of the schemes of the order. He said nobody but democrats were admitted or would be if applied. He confirmed the previous evidence of military organization in the order, and the appointment of a Major General to command. Dr. Bowles, one of the accused, is Commander-in-Chief.

Dr. James P. Wilson, recently arrested, is the Adjutant General on his staff. He said a committee of 13 was appointed to prepare the insurrection, and the

Julant General on his staff. He said a committee of 13 was appointed to prepare the insurrection, and the insurrection was intended to release the rebel prisoners in the North West, arm them from the Government Arsenals, overturn the State Government, kill Governor Morton, or hold him as a hostage for captured insurrectionists, and then form the North. West time a separate confederacy.

He said that he was told by Adjt. Gen. Wilson that \$500,000 had been sent by the rebel agents in Canada \$500,000 had been sent by the rebel agents in Canada

\$500,000 had been sent by the rebel agents in Canada into the North West to purchase arms for the order, and that \$200,000 had been left in Indiana in the hands of Dodd and John C. Walker, State agent. hands of Dodd and John C. Waiker, State agent. Heffron further swore that the committee of thirteen had appointed ten men to kill Governor Morton; and that a few days since the Governor received a letter, signed by one of the men, declaring that the writer and associates had sworn to kill him (Morton), and would do it. If Morton was killed, Dr. Anthon, Secretary of State, and member of the order, was to take his place, as provided by law.

HE LECTURE ON THE FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE IN AMERICA.

COLORED RACE IN AMERICA.

Bemis Hall was crowded on Monday night by such an audience as is rarely seen within its walls, to listen to a lecture upon the above subject by Henry W. Johnson, our talented colored fellow-townsman. The lecture was able, and full of interest as an attempted solution, by one of their own number, of the great social question becoming every day more important and more embarrassing, "What is to become of the colored population?" As we hope to see the lecture in print, we defer any attempt at a summary or at criticism, and substitute for any laudatory remarks of our own the following resolutions, which were prepared by a committee of members of the bar, consisting of his Honor Judge James C. Smith, E. G. Lapham, H. O. Cheesbro, and M. C. Wells, Esqrs., and submitted to the audience at the close of the lecture '—

Whereas our fellow-townsman, Henry W. Johnson, after many years of residence among us—having during that period gained the respect and confidence of all who have known him, and having, by unremitting toil and unceasing conflict with the thousand obstacles with which poverty and race have clogged his progress, fitted himself to adorn a learned and laborious profession—is about to take his departure from among us, to cast his lot among his own people on the distant shores of Liberia, and has this evening justified his course toward his race in so doing by a masterly effort of logic and eloquence; therefore,
Resolved, That we tender him our thanks for his able and interesting address on "The Future of the Colored Race in America," and commend its teachings to the colored people of our country.
Resolved, That in his projected departure for the native home of his race, he carries with him our warmest wishes for his entire success and prosperity, and for the future welfare of his adopted country.
Resolved, That in full faith we commend Henry W. Johnson to the community in which he is about to cast his lot as worthy their fullest and truest confidence as a well-read lawyer, an accomplished orator, and an honest man.

On motion of H. O. Cheesbro, Esq., seconded in a few remarks by E. G. Lapham, Esq., the resolutions were unanimously adopted.—Seneca Falls, (N. Y.) paper.

popel. If you succeed, aristocracy falls in England. It cannot be for you, in the very nature of things. My heart is with the people. Their sympathy is for you. Of this they have given indisputable evidence in the cotton manufacturing districts and throughout the kingdom. The people of England have always carried the day against the aristocracy; and in illustration of this assertion, he cited the efforts for civil liberty, Catholic emancipation, extension of suffrage, emancipation of India and China from the control of a monopoly, and the corn laws.

Mr. Thompson gave some account of the means and measures which the people of England had taken to thwart the designs of secession emissaries abroad, particularly in the organization of union and emancipation societies.

After tracing the rise and progress of political antislavery in this country from 1840 to the present time, evincing a surprising familiarity with our history, he closed his eloquent and instructive address by urging the people to consummate their work with a constitutional amendment forever abolishing and prohibiting slavery.

At the close of the address of two hours and a half,

At the close of the address of two hours and a half,

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The remains of the late Rev. STARR KING were removed from the vault at Lone Mountain Cemetery, and deposited in the new vault prepared for them in the enclosure of the church on Geary-street. Mrs. King, Rev. Dr. Bellows, Rev. Dr. STERBINS and a number of the personal friends of the deceased were present. The ceremonies were of the most impressive character. Mr. Stebbins delivered an address and Dr. Bellows a prayer, after which the coffin was placed in the base of the monument. The monument is of Columbia marble, of the most tasteful finish, and was cut out of solid block, which in its rough state weighed twenty tons.—Alta California.

It is said that upwards of nine hundred women are going out from England to India to be employed on various telegraphic lines of communication.

CHURCH OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, (In Sepondent,) corner of Eleventh and Wood streets, Phila-lelphia. T. H. STOCKTON, Senior Paster. ALEXANDES LARK, Junior Pastor. Residence 1212 North Thirteenth

ocial Meeting every Sabbath, at 71-2, P. M. rief Lecture and Singing Class, Wednesday, at 7 1-2,

bath School at 9, A. M., and 2, P. M. Teachers' Prayer Meeting, Saturday, at 9 1-2, P. M.
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MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 2 Dover street. Particular attention paid to Diseases of

References .- Luther Clark, M. D.; David Thayer, M. D. flice hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

A NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

THE PRIEND OF PROGRESS. N. 1, for November, contains Rev. O. B. Frothing-ham's Discourse before the Alumni at Cambridge, entitled, "The New Religion of Nature," with a varie-\$2 per year. Single numbers, 20 cents. To be had of

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Nov. 11.

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History of the Anti-Slavery Measures of the 37th and 38th Congresses. CONTENTS.

Slaves used for Insurrectionary purposes made Free. Fugitive Slaves not to be returned by Persons in the Army. The Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. President's Proposition to Aid States in the Abolishment of

Slavery.

Prohibition of Slavery in the Territories. Hayti and Liberia.

Education of Colored Youth in the District of Columbia. The African Slave-Trade. Additional Act to Abolish Slavery in the District of Co-

Colored Soldiers.

Aid to the States to Emancipate their Slaves. Amendment of the Constitution.
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Oct. 7.

"FREE LOVE," R a Philosophical Demonstration of the non-exclusive nature of Counubial Love. To which is added, a Review of and Reply to the exclusive phase in the writings of the Fowlers, Adin Ballou, H. C. Wright, and A. J. Davis, on the Love and Marriage question. Price, (post-paid,) 50 cents, or to the poor, in paper, 35 cents. Sold by the Author—AUSTIN KENT, East Stockholm, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.

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"WITHOUT SMUTTING." MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

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She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has
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are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
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country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before
using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from
turning grey.
She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of
her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used
in every city in the country. They are also packed for her
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or three years, as they often say they can get nothing
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TO A PLANE-TREE. In the Court-yard, before my chamber window. BY ALMIRA SETMOUR.

Dark thy beginnings were, beautiful Tree, In the stinted soil of this narrow place; The 'prisoning walls of thy destiny Hiding thy mother Nature's face, And no sister sapling or nestling vine To mingle its gentle leaf-whispers with thine.

Beyond these walls and the hurrying street, Thy kindred, of many proud families In social ranks and gay groups meet,
Twining their arms in friendliest ties;
And their cheerfully blended voices come To mock the silence of thy lone he

But no repining contracted thy form, No morbid musing consumed thy force ; Upward, still upward, through sun or storm Patiently striving has been thy course-Erect, majestic, and gracefully fair As thou hadst been nurtured with kindliest car

And, lo ! far above you established Church, Above e'en a Nation's Justice halls. And homes where fortune and fashion perch, The sun's first glance on thy regal head falls And the lingering smile of each finished day Round thy heaven-kissed forehead loves to play.

Thou speakest a lesson, beautiful Tree, A lofty lesson of life to my soul : Patience and Truth conquer destiny-Brigging darkness and dearth under their e And the very clogs that were meant to confine, Become stepping-stones up to heights divine. 10 Temple-Place, Boston, Oct. 19, 1864.

For the Liberator.

THE SLAVE'S SONG.

Behold! the sweet day is dawning; Arising, see Freedom's bright sun! Breaking, we hail the glad morning-The work of the slave lord is done Fetters and chains are all falling-

Tyrants are trembling with fear ; Fair Freedom to me is calling— The day of deliv'rance is here. Our toils and troubles are ending ;

No more shall we labor in pain : Justice and Freedom are sending Their sweet voices over the plain No more shall we live in sadness,

Sowing and reaping in gladness, We will happily pass the years.

ELECTION SONG [ Written 1660. From the Luttrell Collection.] Great God of nations and their right ! By whose high auspice Britain stands long, though first 'twas built on sands, And oft had sunk but for Thy might

In her own mainland storms and seas, Be present to her now as then ; And let not proud and factious me Oppose Thy will with what they please Our free full senates to be made-Oh, put it to the public voice! So make a legal, worthy choice,

Excluding such as would invade The Commonwealth : let whom we name Have wisdom, foresight, fortitude ; Be more with faith than face endued ;

Such as not seek to get the start In State by faction, power, or bribes, Ambitious bands, but more the tribes By virtue, modesty, desert :

Such as to justice will adhere. Whatever great one it offend ; For envy, hatred, gifts, or fear :

That by their deeds will make it known e dignity they do sustain; And Life, State, Glory-all they gain-

Such the old Brutii, Deli ware Themselves for Rome, and would not live Its men, good only for a year.

Such were the great Camilli, too, The Fabii, Scipii, that still thought No work at price enough was bought, That for their country they could do And to her honor so did knit, As all their acts were underst The sinews of the public good-And they themselves as souls with it.

These men were truly magistrates; These neither practised force nor forms; Nor did they leave the helm in storms: And such they are make happy States !

### "I WILL NEVER RETRACT."

BY RARL MARBLE.

"They may defeat us; but, if we fall, we will fall with our principles. I will never retract my Proclamation of Emancipation."—PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

"I will never retract !" the' the light through the gloo From the battle-field fainter and fainter comes stealing ; Though the rifle's shrill whistle and cannon's dull boo Are succeeded by only the dread crack of doom, And the world in its frensy and madness is reeling. Though the black hosts of ill may my sceptre lay low For the treacherous one there are faithful eleven ; And I ne'er will add aught to his full page of woe To the poor praying slave giving back a cold "No!" Is the mandate that comes from the throne of high

"I will never retract!" He himself is a host,

In his manhood the cohorts of evil defying:

Then stand by him, ye freemen, and give as a toast,

"The proud land of our fathers, of freemen the boast, And the undaunted hero with faith e'er undying." Stand by him, ye slaves, having free papers sealed With the best, noblest blood of the suffering nation Stand by him, ye heroes of crimson-dyed field, Who stood up erect as the dread cannon peeled, And never e'en blanched till in anguish ye kneeled, And prayed 'gainst Chicago's proposed separation

"I will never retract!" "Tis a maxim as proud As ever was uttered by dust-embalmed i "I will never retract!" Go and cry it aloud, Till the traitors in sackcloth and ashes have be Who cluster in fear around Richmond's great Nero "Uncle Abe," (the title is hallowed and dear,) We ask you, in view of these words, to res

Though the eye be a-dim with the bitterest tear, And the heart reaches forth o'er a yet open bier, That the hand with a ballot will thank you, as ne'er Was a man thanked before, on the eighth of Novemb

### OUR COUNTRY'S REDEMPTION.

Our country was shattered and failing, No strength had it whereon to lean; But now dawns its day of redemption, The time of its triumph draws nigh-No longer a nation of b mancled hands to the sky : But God in his glory appeareth,
And, cleaving the channel of red,
These dark hosts, by him marshall'd over, The fair land of promise shall tread.

And the eyes of the nations in darkness Shall still turn upon us for light, As, scaling the pure heights of freedom

### The Tiberator.

THE WAR PLANE.

PRINCETON. Oct. 17, 1864. Mr. GARRISON-I reverence the Liberator so muc for its brave and ever-memorable advocacy of impar tial freedom when slaveholding was popular and dominant, that anything in its columns looking to the support or encouragement of tyrannical measures disturbs me as would the inconstancy of an oracle. It was surely unintentional, but is not your "leader' of last week open to that charge? The "war plane on which the President stands" evidently deprives him of moral authority, rather than confers additional rights not held by civil magistrates or private citi zens in time of peace. Because robbers upon the seas "stand on the plane" of piracy, do they the less override civil and international law, and become enemies of the race? Because Jefferson Davis "stands on the plane" of slavery, has he therefore the right to found a government with that cruel system as its corner stone ! Doubtless the President acts within the scope of human government, but that does not authorize him to set aside Divine Law, or put the Union out side the jurisdiction of the Court of Heaven. It is not apparent that, if Mr. Lincoln has an "acknowledged standard of duty and sworn obligations" to de wrong, that that makes wrong-doing right, or gives him a monopoly of fashionable iniquity. I am aware that war involves every usurpation; it is the latest edition of the "sum of all villanies," and "repeals all the commandments"; but is that a reason why Non-Resistants, under a rampant ascendency of brute force inspired by ferocious human passions, should hasten to absolve magistrates from moral obligations and volunteer arguments to suppress the time-honored

To the plea, that these questionable means may be invoked to secure the desirable end of ng slavery, I need only reply, in the language of the Declaration of 1833 at Philadelphia, that Mexico, to confirm the acquisitions of slavery-extended like water, in order to be free, our principles forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, entire nation the deep guilt and infamy of their and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all car- crimes. nal weapons for deliverance from bondage." As your friend and coadjutor, ADIN BALLOU, arry Society, fighters not less than non-combatants, as an agent of emancipation; for all know war to be holding judges, to be in contravention of the Con-an "evil." One step towards sin does not authorize stitution of the United States. These flagrant wrongs a second, but the repentance and abandonment of the first. Because war involves despotic and wicked measures, because it is sinful and unchristian, and what comes of it,-must be denounced as the crime and blunder it is.

But the other and more direct inference drawn from the "war plane" premise is still more questionable. You affirm that, "judging the President by the war plane on which he stands, he should have imprisoned in their own courts, were violently expelled by many more Northern traitors, (hung Vallandigham, threats of personal injury, and pursued by mobs act-Liberator, July 31, 1864,) and suppressed many more treasonable newspapers." In your "Writings and of those States. All which was virtually sanctioned Speeches," reprinted from the Liberator, you say, by the formal and repeated refusal of Congress to

"Free speech and free inquiry are not only the best "Free speech and free inquiry are not only the best weapons, but none others may be innocently used against wrong . . . A forcible suppression of error is no aid to the cause of truth; and to allow only just such views and sentiments to be spoken and circulated as we think are correct is to combine bigotry and cowardice in equal proportion . . . True, a man may be presumptuous, perverse, and his principles wrong. But this is certain; he who is for forcibly stepriles the mostly of his proportion. ong. But this is certain; he who is for location, pping the mouth of his opponent, or burning an in at the stake, or thrusting him into prison, or exiting a necuniary fine against him, or treating him man at the stake, or thrusting him into prison, or exacting a pecuniary fine against him, or treating him scornfully on account of his peculiar views on any subject, whether relating to God or man, to time or eternity, is either under the diminion of a spirit of ruffianism or cowardice, or animated by that fierce intolerance which characterized Saul of Tarsus in his zeal to exterminate the heresy of Christianity."

When, incarnating these solemn truths in a noble example, you often went up to the State House to protest against the gallows, the death-penalty, and all the thousand cruelties and retaliations which society inflicts upon its victims, convicted of crime "on de process of law," you were understood. But now, to not a few of your most devoted friends, aside from the wholesale murders of the war you favor the continuance of, your published sentiments seem quite "imprisoning many more Northern traitors, and suppressing many more treasonable newspapers," in contempt and defiance of "due pro-

Early in the war, arbitrary measures-though, fortunately, not to the extent of hanging political opponents for the expression of opinion-were tried and abandoned; the Tribune, the Evening Post, and Mr. Lincoln himself, to his lasting honor be it said, pro-nouncing them "inexpedient." Will the Liberator, which pronounces such measures to be abstractly wrong. encourage them, at this late day, as practically right If these apprehensions are ill-founded, you will greatly oblige me by pointing out the error: for it is not pleasant to differ from a revered friend and benefactor, to whom I owe so much. It is my duty, however, to state, that such impressions are widely and increasingly entertained by Abolitionists as I meet them on the lecture circuit; by men and women who have stood by the Liberator through all the dark hours of the past, and will do everything consistent with truth to uphold it until every slave is free. But these unswerving friends of freedom and peace are pained and gravely alarmed that a paper, which they have laid next their Bibles, should have no protest against the great wrongs incident to the attempted settlemen of the slave question by the sword. E. H. H.

REMARKS. It looks to us as if our correspondent is somewhat eager and anxious for controversy-or. at least, is in a most hypercritical state of mind-to thus seek to raise an issue with us on the question of non-resistance per se, merely because, repelling the false and malicious accusation of seditious Copperheads, that President Lincoln has acted in a tyrannical and unconstitutional manner in the matter of arrests, we asserted that, "judging the President by the war plane on which he stands "-as if he were to be judged by any other rule, in replying to the Copperhead accusation aforesaid !-" he should have imprisoned many more Northern traitors and suppressed many more treasonable newspapers." That is our conviction still, despite the uncalled for homily of "E. H. H." on non-resistance, and notwithstanding the quotation which he has made from our Writings. How the expression of that conviction militates against any of the principles we have advocated, it is not given us to perceive. Had the Apostle Paul not a right to measure "on their own plane," those Jews who, in his day, rejected the gospel, when he aid-" Ye that are under the law, do ye not hear the law ?"-though the law gendered to bondage ? If E. H. H." does, we do not know of any non-resistants, who, " under a rampant ascendency of brute posed to "hasten to absolve magistrates from moral obof an exceptional non-resistant who is so unwise or so unfortunate in his treatment of the awful struggle through which the nation is passing, as to give aid comfort to those traitorous dissemblers "who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace."

As to those Abolitionists, who, it is alleged, "are but, wherever or whoever they may be, they will ex- four years of more and more successful fighting than anable to tolerate such descent, their remedy is in dis- and uniting our enemies," and so on. ntinuing their subscriptions .- [Ed. Lib.

#### THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY MR. PHIL-LIPS'S SPEECH

our black slaves in the South, but b our white slaves in the North, that we govern you. Thus on the floor of the Senate, near forty years ago, John Randolph taunted these Free States, and scot at their representatives. It was no empty boast, bu a momentous truth, by which we might have profited to avert the bloody arbitrament by which divine jus tice has awarded to our lengthened complicity with the meanest and most high-handed villany which can be perpetrated by man against man, or by sets of mer against civil society. For two-thirds of a century, mencing with the slave-driving and slavery-driv en factions of 1800, no conceivable subserviency to the ambition, rapacity, luxury, pride and vanity the slavemongering oligarchy has been refused by the self-abased, scourged and trampled North.

Unequal taxation, whereby four-fifths of the burde were cast upon free to the almost total exemption slave labor, was uniformly claimed, intrigued for and bribed for by the masters of slaves, and allowed by the unfaithful representatives and infatuated people the North.

. Vast tracts of slave territory were purchased suc cessively at this preponderating cost, and otherwise to the injury of the North; and all with the unblush ing and almost incredible avowal of "strict constructionists," and the "State rights" and Democrati school, that such acquisitions were violatio

On the other hand, immense territories in the extreme Northeast and Northwest, long appropriated by Free States, and occupied by freem their situation and character unconvertible to the uses of slavery and the aggrandizement of the Slave Power, were surrendered to a formidable slave-email cipating neighbor, to propitiate his acquiescence in the extension of the domains of the Republic, and of slavery in the South.

Unjust and unprovoked war was made in an unco stitutional manner and upon false pretences against while the fathers of '76 "poured out human blood ing filibusters, to enlarge immeasurably their piratical robberies, and to aggravate and stamp upon the

The protection of American "sailors' rights" to life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness under gued, that Declaration evidently binds the Anti-Slave- the national flag, within our national jurisdiction and our own ports, was surrendered in deference to slave advocacy or the tolerance of the sword laws, admitted by their authors, and decided by slavewere connived at by the national authorities, const tuted in great part and wholly controlled as usual by slavemongers, who were then fresh from a perilous therefore it is impolitic and unnecessary; and it,- foreign war, professedly and solely waged to protect those rights not half so much outraged by Great Brit-

ain as now by themselves.

Under this criminal neglect of Congress and the national Executive, envoys, sent by the aggrieved to the offending States to test the validity of their laws take any action upon the subject, and disgracefully acquiesced in by the insulted and injured States, and by the people.

Hundreds and thousands of visitors or sojourners in the slave States, peaceably pursuing their lawful busi ness, were robbed of their property, imprisoned, cruelly lashed, lynched and murdered with ingenious and protracted cruelties; and these horrid enormities committed upon American citizens, guilty of no offence even under the Draconic slave codes, and specially protected by the Federal Constitution, in whatever State they might choose to travel or abide, were submitted to without opposition or remon by the Nation, the Free States, and political parties of every description.

The Slave Power, regulating with its Northern un derlings and allies the subject of taxation, dispensing the treasure, controlling appointments and removals both civil and military, commanding the army and navy, and arrogating to itself two-thirds of all the offices, though possessing but one third of the white population, bestowed the minor and local ones which remained upon Northern men, selfish and unscrupt lous, of course, because selected and pledged to do the bidding of their master, and blindly obey their behests. Often they were as incompetent as they were corrupt Many hundred sinecures were created that the incumbents might traverse States and districts, deceive the well-meaning but not well-informed, and seduce by bribes and promises of office the young and unwary, the ambitious and mercenary. Honors and emoluments accorded to the profligate, the incapable and disreputable, are prosoriptions of the wise, virtuous and honorable : and wherever such abuses have prevailed under the tyrants of the old world, they have been deemed the badges of a subjugated people and most jealously guarded against. The history and traditions of these Free States, and of every considerable town and village, teem with instances of proscription equalling in injustice, tyranny and disregard of the public interests, those decreed by usurping dictators and trimmers in ancient Rome. This system continued, except with slight interruptions under John Quincy Adams, Gen. Harrison and General Taylor, during this century up to the accession of Lincoln. It makes offices cease to seek good men, and causes bad men in multitudes to seek office. It reverses the moral government of God, rewarding vice and punishing virtue, and has tended to a wider and more rapid demoralization of our country than that which marked the decline and fall of the Roman State. It would work the destruction of any State and the corruption of any people, and ought to.

The same Northern underlings, whose history I have briefly touched, are now striving as earnestly to win for the rebels by ballots, as the rebels to win for them by bullets; and both to the same end, that men who are guilty of the highest crime known to human laws, men who have perpetrated during four years of rebellion atrocities innumerable, continued and diabolical, such as savages never invented, and fiends of the lowest pit alone can conceive, may escape with impunity, and go without day. The ferocious villains, the double-edged traitors, parricides and wholesale murderers, who treat even the dead as though they wanted to murder them over again, avow that their only ray of hope rests on the defeat of Lincoln; tha they can cooperate as effectually with their Northern confederates by victories on the field, as they used formerly to do by votes at the hustings. They mean that they can contribute to the common cause of ty ranny, injustice and slavery by the slaughter and disgrace of the patriotic, self-consecrated and noble de fenders of their country, of liberty and the rights and dignity of free labor, as their "white slaves" car by purchasing and depositing votes, importing the restoration of rebels to places of honor, emolument and supreme power, the reënslavement of two hu dred thousand enfranchised heroes, and millions o others blessed with the boon of liberty by the Presiforce inspired by ferocious human passions," are dis-dent's lawful act, and the eternal disbonor and mos cruel betrayal of all our beloved heroes living, and ligations, and volunteer arguments to suppress the of the memory of those glorious martyrs, their com-time-honored guarantees of freedom." But we know rades dead!

By such means, and at such cost, the Copperhead "white slaves" calculate to return to their man ters, and gorge themselves anew at the flesh-pots of Egypt. They accuse our sagacious, honest and inflexible statesman at the head of the Government, and our military leaders, unsurpassed in skill and valor by pained and gravely slarmed" at the course of the those of any country or age, and our brave and un-Liberator respecting the war, they are mythical to us; equalled army, of having made a grand failure during pect us to be as faithful to our highest convictions of the world ever saw in an equal period before; and luty as we desire them to be to theirs. If they are they accuse him and them of "dividing our friends

And our beloved and honored friend Wendell Phil-

election offers the only chance for the salvation of li erty and our country, for justice to the negro and safe ty or peace to us all, echoes those accusations of the us Chicago platform and the venomous Copperheads. D. L. C.

#### TESTIMONY OF COLORED WITNESSES IN VIRGINIA.

In the Liberator of Oct. 14th, an abstract was given of some very interesting and remarkable proceedings in the County Court of the County of Alexandria Va., in regard to the admission of the testimony of colored persons there. This question arose in the case of Graff vs. Howard, in consequence of the presenta-tion, as a witness for the plaintiff, of Israel Dorsey, a colored citizen of the State of Massachusetts. Objection being made by the defendant's counsel, and sus tained by the Court, on account of the African descent of the witness, a bill of exceptions was tendered by the plaintiff's attorney, and signed and sealed by the full court, consisting of five Justices, and the case was continued to the next term of the Court. Moreover, Israel Dorsey, the rejected witness, has filed his bill of complaint in his own name, in the U. S. District Court, District of Virginia, against the Alexandria County Court, praying that the latter may be required to receive his testimony.

After two hearings in the case last mentioned, in

which the claim of the complainant, Israel Dorsey, was defended by able and eminent counsel, an opinion was given by Judge Underwood, which is reported at length in the Alexandria, (Va.,) State Journal, and which is, in substance, as follows :-

The denial of the right of giving testimony in the Courts of the country is an injustice only less than slavery itself; that right being not only essential to personal dignity and safety, but the very bulwark of all other individual, domestic and social rights.

The clause of the U.S. Constitution on which the immunities of citizens in the several Status

The Court cited, in maintenance of the complainant's rights, the comments of Alexander Han upon this clause-an opinion, apparently conclusive. of Mr. Justice Washington upon the same clause-and the able opinion of Attorney General Bates, utterly demolishing the unfortunate obiter dicta in the Dred Scott case.

The Court also cited the time-honored opinion of Lord Mansfield in the great Somerset case, in the Court of King's Bench, in regard to the claim of a slave by a Virginia planter, and declared its conviction that the law of Virginia excluding colored testimony is utterly null and void, because repugnant to the glorious "Declaration of Rights" of that State, which, following the decision of Lord Mansfield, was adopted in June, 1776, as part of its Constitution. That declaration, never repealed, has been repeatedly reaffirmed and continued as the basis of every State Constitution of Virginia, up to, and including, that of

In the light of the guaranties of this declarat the Court declared, an enactment excluding the testimony of any man unconvicted of an infamous crime could not have been tolerated by a civilized and Christian people, but for the debasing and demoralizing influence of slavery.

The opinion given by Judge Underwood closed with

these words, namely :-

"Had Congress clearly conferred upon this Court the necessary power, the relief prayed for by the petitioner would be cheerfully and speedily granted. But the method of proceeding in order to secure the benefit of a right fully guarantied by the Constitution has been left in great doubt and obscurity from some cause, probably from an influence which in the future will neither be felt nor feared. With a view, therefore, of obtaining the aid of Congress at the approaching session, and with the hope also that the Legislature of this State, soon to assemble, may do itself and our old Commonwealth the honor of wiping the wicked enactment, excluding the testimony of colored men in any of our courts, from our code of laws, burying it in the same grave with its barbarous twin brother very, thus obviating the necessity of further action by this Court-the case is put over for final action, and, if desired, for further argument, to the next term.

It thus appears that Judge Underwood (who will be remembered as one of those who, in 1856-7, was driven by threats of violence from his home in Virpower, and exert the same in ginia, in consequence of his opposition to the slave constantly throwing out upon the public the same case also. If his anticipations shall prove well founded as to the action of Congress, and of the Legislature of Virginia, at their approaching sessions, it may be hoped that a sufficient precedent may soon be founded to turn the decision of such cases, henceforth, in the right direction and thus speedily to put an end to the very thought of abridging the legal rights of a man on count of the color of his skin .- c. K. w.

### PATRIOTIC EXPRESSION OF SENTIMENT.

Camp 55th Mass. Vol. Infantry, Folly Island, S. C., October 14th, 1864. To the Editor of the Liberator :

Please publish the following resolutions, which were adopted by acclamation :-

Whereas, the just claims of the 55th regiment Mass Vols., on the pay question, having been admitted on the basis of equality; and whereas, we, the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment, anxlous to take advantage of this and every opportunity of giving expression to our loyalty to the cause and country, especially when we behold that country in the midst of its perils rising to the dignity of giving freedom and knowledge to an unfortunate race, and be stowing upon it the rights of citizenship; therefore, Resolved. That we stand now, as ever, ready to do

our duty, whenever and wherever our country requires it, in the work of crushing this wicked rebellion, and preserving the national unity.

Resolved, That we are determined to make it our first duty, as soldiers, by promptitude, obedience, and soldierly bearing, to prove ourselves worthy of the responsible position assigned us by Providence in this, the grandest struggle of the world's history between Freedom and Slavery; and our first duty as men, by every means possible, to contradict the slanders of our enemies, and prove to be true our fitness for liberty and citizenship in the new order of things now arising in this our native land.

Resolved, That while it deeply grieved us to find many who should have understood and appreciated our motives, in connection with the pay question, failing to give us support and sympathy—sometimes even going so far as to condemn, thereby unconsciously giving aid and comfort to the enemy-nevertheless, we have no hard feelings against such; being convinced that, ere long, if not already, they will see the error of their way, and discern the wisdom of our acts, as surely as that they are to enjoy the benefits of our

ic resisted the British tax on ten, on the ground of principle, so did we claim equal pay with other volunteers, because we believed our military and civil equality in issue; independent of the fact that such pay was actually promised, and not because we regulated our patriotism and love of race by any given sum

Resolved. That we do most sincerely thank those of our friends at home, who have stood by us throughout our trials and deprivations, and whose sympathy and practical kindness went far towards softening the rigors of our condition; especially are our thanks due to William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Governor Andrew, and Senators Sumner and Wilsonthose heroic champions of liberty-for their untiring and successful efforts in our behalf.

G. P. JONSON, Chairman. Jonn T. Snorten, Sec'y.

#### lips, while declaring, in effect, that Mr. Lincoln's re- ADDRESS OF MAJOR GENERAL BANKS,

(Concluded from first page.)

Now, I think it is unreasonable to expect—even if we had no other grounds of procedure—that as system which has been thus discussed and practically experimented upon in England and France for the better part of half a century, should be discarded altogether, until somebody can suggest a system here that is more perfect, and more certain to insure to the benefit of the laborers.

The effect of this organization of industry upon other nations is not unworthy of consideration. There are, I believe, if you include the slaves held in the United States—and the question is not yet determined absolutely whether they are to be free permanently or to be returned to slavery—including

permanently or to be returned to slavery-including em, there are about seven millions of held in bondage by Christian nations. Brazil has two millions; the Dutch Colonies have something like 100'000; some other colonies have several thousand; and those existing or who existed in the United States, to the number of four millions, make the sum total of seven millions. The moment system of labor is adopted which proves to be perfectly successful in its operation, that moment all fear of the return of the negroes to the condi-tion of servitude may be dismissed forever, what-ever be the result of the contest in which we are engaged; for you may be certain that even if the rebels were to return to Louisiana, themselves in power, they could never enforce the law of servi-tude or of slavery upon the negro population of power, they could never enforce the law of servitude or of slavery upon the negro population of that State. (Applaure.) What then is to be the influence of this experiment upon other States? Within five years, or within ten years at the outside, and I believe within five years of the settlement of our difficulties and the substitution for slavery of a system of successful free labor, slavery will be abolished in the Island of Cuba and in the State of Beauty (Low) and plane. We will Empire of Brazil. (Loud applause.) We will then see the entire world without the institution of slavery, and the laboring population of every State and of every nation placed in the condition in which we place that of the Southern States. This petitioner relies is the following:—"The citizens of is the inevitable effect of such a successful example each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and If there is to be risk of failure, where the immediate ate and ultimate consequences are so important, that risk ought to be scanned with great care, and we ought to take warning from the experience of other States. In 1794 France abolished slavery in the French Colonies in this hemisphere. In 1802, owing to the disturbances which existed there during the Consulate of Napoleon, slavery was re-established, and remained until 1848. Now, the ailure of the principle of freedom in the French Colonies is a matter of importance to us as a people. It cannot be charged, I think, to the principle of emancipation in any form whatever. It was owing to the fact that there was not sufficient discrimination in the early legislation by the French Republic upon this subject. They gave to the blacks entire liberty too indiscriminately, without any of those restraints and regulations which every government is bound to afford to an infant people or a struggling race, just breaking its bonds and lifting itself into freedom. We at least ought to be careful to avoid the error into which the French Government or Republic was led, which caused the failure of their ex-periment, and with that failure came the restoration

of the institution of slavery, or something akin to it. The organization of the system of labor is but one of the changes silently working in the State of Louisiana. The schools have been adapted to the principles of emancipation, and to the support of the Union. Every day, at every session, almost at of liberty are sung by the every hour, the anthems of liberty are sung by the pupils, and the flag is displayed. Whenever a visi-tor enters, he adverts instantly and inevitably to the great contest in which we are engaged, and the names of the heroes of the sea and of welcomed with applause by all the pupils. Private schools upon any other basis than this to which I have adverted are considered irregular and prohibited. Thus the children of the entire State carry into the families, it may be, of secessionists, or disunionists, or rebels, the spirit of liberty which they gain in the schools where they pass their days. In the or rebels, the spirit of liberty which they gain in the schools where they pass their days. In the churches it is the same. Every Church, except the Catholic, recognizes the Government, and the Catholic Church departs in no respect whatever from the course which it persues in this part of the country, or any other part of the country. It reads the Proclamation of the President for Fast and Thanksgiving; and in the Churches of the other denominations the Government is recognized precisely as it is here. The anthems of liberty are sung there, also, constantly. A Fast or a Thanksgiving appointed by the President in recognition of disasters, or in rejoicing over the great good fortune disasters, or in rejoicing over the great good fortune of the armies of the Union, is as generally and as honestly observed in New Orleans as it is in Boston, and that of the choice of the people themselves principles in support of the Union, names of the heroes of the army and the

The militia of the State is organized upon the same basis. Every able-bodied man in the State is enrolled for military service in the armies of the United States, and may be called upon wh the exigencies of the country require it. The society of the State is also organized upon the same basis. When I went to New Orleans, I seldom saw a woman or a child. The city was desolation. There was no opportunity for visiting by a friend of the government or an officer or soldier of the army, he went into the circles of those at least in uniess he went into the circles of those at least in sympathy with the rebels, and he was required in-variably to doff his uniform; and very frequently that requisition was complied with. That has all been changed.

The loyal ladies of the State have re-established

a power of their own; and when the history of Louisiana in connection with the war shall have been thoroughly discussed and understood, it will o found that the loval ladies of Louisiana hav contributed as much, at least, to the restoration o the government as the secession ladies did to its overthrow. (Hearty applause.) I have heard it announced every day in the public sales rooms of New Orleans, have seen it published in every print in the city, that the currency of the United States would not be taken in exchange for goods sold, and that only the currency of the city would be taken. That has been changed by the same silent process, and now the currency of the United States is at par—is at a premium; and every man knows that the currency which a year and a half ago was put above the credit of the United States is nearly or above the credit of the United States, is nearly or above the credit of the United States, is nearly or comparatively worthless. This has been accom-plished simply by an examination into the condi-tion of these institutions, and a report to the public of the facts. Trade is upon the same basis. No man engages in trade who does not declare his fealty to the government, and who does not give evidence of his fealty the State and of the United States are organized upon the same principle. No man goes in suitor, no man goes in as a practitioner, no man goes in as a juror, who does not first acknowledge ner, no man allegiance to the government of the United Business corporations are gradually being molded

into the same form and to the same purpose. The Here, then is every institution, every element of power that can exist in the State put boldly and absolutely on the side of the Government. What

is the consequence of these things? That the people of the State are ready to accept the Government of the United States; as ready, as willing, as joyous in the acceptance of it, as are the people of Massachusetts, or as they would be if it had been overthrown here. They have made a constitution adapted in all its provisions to the condition of things that I have described, and ratified it by a large majority of the people. I will not say that it was by a large majority, without giving you the figures upon which my statement is based, so that you may see whether it be the act of the people, or the act of the army or of the President. In the parishes that the Government occupies

In the parishes that the Government occupies, the ordinary vote, for the last ten or twelve years, has been 15 or 16,000. On the question of the organization of the Free State Government, the people of those same parishes gave 11,500 votes; and that without the support of the army and without the support of the army and without the support of the army and of the country. I venture to say that there have not been, of these 11,500, in any election, 500 men voting who belonged to the army, in any form whatever, and those men were citizens of the State of Louisiana, in accordance with the laws and constitution of that State, and had a right to vote there, and would

have had a right to vote anywhere under the me circumstances. I believe that in these election not a thousand, who have participated, who have participated, who have participated the control of the State of Louisiana before the control of the state of It is no snap judgment that the people has the They were bold enough and honest en-assume, in the election of delegates and in ganization of the Constitutional Convention

every district in the State was represented quired a majority of all the delegates, assu every district was represented, to perform a or pass any vote; and the constitution white been ratified by the people was adopted, as the signatures of a majority of all the d that would be entitled to a seat in the Con if every election district in the State of L were represented. What is that constitut is not enough to say that the constitution by the act of the people, emancipates the slave instances without condition, without allusion to be neously, without condition, without allusion to be subject of compensation. It also declares that the Legislature shall pass no law recognizing propers in man. It provides for the education of allusion in the State, irrespective of race or coil. It enrolls in the militia all the able-bodied means of the State, without regard to caste, or condition are race, or color; and it declares that the Legislature in consideration of intelligence, contribution of taxes, or service in arms, may confer upon man of color or negro the right of soft enough to say that the cons nan of color or negro the right of surrage; and ander such circumstances the authority given to be Legislature is in the nature of a comm Legislature is no the nature of a command. Here could it be possible for the entire people of a Sun like Louisiana, one of the foremost of the inserrectionary States, to establish a constitution like the except it were that all the elements of power th onstitute the basis of a State had already been onstitute the case of a State and already been or ganized in harmony with this grand principle of a free State? It could not be done. It would be a mpossible for the President to organize by procla-mation or by instruction anything like this, or for the army to do it, as to accomplish possibility. It is, as I said in the my remarks, the result of the slow but radical change in all the institutions and influences and change in all the institutions and influences and elements of power that underlie the government; and whether or not the United States shall receive the work of the people of Louisiana, it will make no difference to them. It will stand permanently, no difference to them. It will stand permanently, because it is planted upon principle, and is the act and will of the people. (Applause) It most a and will of the people. (Applause.) It must no distant day be recognized as their work, and be welcomed on its return to the Union as one of the Free States. It is by the acquisition of States this manner that the Constitution of the Union States is to be amended so that hereafter no Son vill be allowed to maintain the institution of slaver Without the acquisition of these States, it is conceded that, at present, at least, it cannot be done that is indispensable. The restoration of Louisia upon the basis I have described will be the sign for the other States to follow in the same con (applause,) because they will see the proper and power of the people secured by the same at which restores the States. And in this section of the conti is not only hope for success in arms, but for the principles of liberty embodied in the restoration of the States. Louisiana occupies the moult of the Mississippi Valley. Whatever productive wealth's Mississippi Valley. has must go through this entrepot to the comme of the outer world; whatever the world sends the Mississippi Valley must pass through its per It is destined to control, in a very great degree, the influence and power of the Vall sippi—a valley with a soil as fertile as any that he under the face of heaven—that is capable of producing every product of the western or Ea Continent—that demands only cultivation to a wealth such as the world has never before nessed. It will support a thousand million of men, and it will be the seat of the political and the miltary power of this continent. How important, then, that the key State of this valley, flanked by Calfornia on the right and by New England on the left -assuming a position of freedom and classifing for readmission to the Union upon the basis of absolute freedom, of loyalty to the Constitution and devotion to the interests of the Government—how important it is that it shall be recognized! The first step made in this direction seals the success of our co test. We know then for what we fight. The armies of the Union will fight with redouble energy, and every day in the ranks of the enemy the question is debated whether surrender is se-compatible with honor under the circumstances. The counsel from rebel families in the State of Louisiana every day to their representatives in the rebel army is, "Throw down your arms, and come to your homes. (Applause.) We are happy, or children are in the schools, our young mea are gradually engaging in business, there seems a chance for the old prosperity and peace to return, and instead of wasting and destroying your lives in fruitless efforts to overthrow the gov say to their friends. They don This is what they say to their friends. They don't say it to us. As I have said before, if we speak to them with regard to their career, they do a people do, and defend the consistency irse; but one glance at the condition of Louis iana by a sensible man will satisfy any person, under the circumstances, of the general truth of what I have said. And though I know nothing of the opinions of the gentlemen whom I am about a name, I am assured, recognizing them as just men that an examination by them of the condition of things there, and of the changes that have taken place in the system of labor in all those institu that underlie the State, and make it permanel and safe—that an examination of these changes would satisfy them, and that their report would would satisfy them, and that their report woning satisfy you, that the constitution which has been adopted is a free constitution, the voluntary act of the people, and that they are entitled to resure their old place in the Union of States. If Mr. Garrison, or Mr. Gerrit Smith, or the distinguished continuous who sits been upon my left. (George Continuous who sits been upon my left. (George gentleman who sits here upon my left, (Georg old and the new, as the advocate of emanci the philosopher, the student, the orator who as de voted a long and valuable life to the elucidation of voted a long and valuable life to the elucidation of correct principles in this matter—I say, if either a all these gentlemen were to visit Louisian for the purpose of investigating the condition of thing, would stake my life that the conclusion to which have arrived, and which I have stated, would be conclusion to which they would arrive. Have no earthly interest in this matter, not the slightest in the world, why I should come to you and misrepresent anything. I have only discharged a daty in sent anything. I have only discharged a day is representing the condition of things as I have set them, and as I know them.

The best service the citizens of Boston could be the condition of the best service the citizens of Boston could be the condition of the

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The best service the citizens of the country would be to depute an honest and to the country would be to depute an honest and intelligent man to visit those distant parts of the intelligent man to visit the Union where these great principles are ished, and where these new questions are beconsidered, and ascertain what is the truth what is the actual condition of things there, and whether or not they deserve the support of the

The lecture occupied an host and a half in dolly-pring, and was often applauded.

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